

The African Communist

NUMBER 46 3RD QUARTER 1971

50 years of struggle THE S.AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY 1921-1971

BA 320.53205

AFR

S. 83/104

RECEIVED BY

1993 -10- 12

PRICE PER COPY

AFRICA : 5p (1 shilling)

ELSEWHERE: U.K. 15p (3/-) U.S. 50 cents

SUBSCRIPTION

AFRICA : 20 p (4 shillings) AIR MAIL £1. 10. 0.

U.K. & EUROPE

1 year (four issues) 60p (12/-)

2 years £ 1.

U.S. & CANADA

1 year \$ 2.00 (Airmail \$ 4.00)

2 years \$ 3.50 (Airmail \$ 6.00)

STUDENTS : 25% discount on

Surface mail subscriptions.

AGENTS

*Usual trade discount (one-third of
retail price) to bookshops and
sellers ordering 6 or more copies*

EDITORIAL

*Articles, letters, material for articles
and comments are invited on all themes
of African interest, but payment is by
prior arrangement only.*

ADDRESS

All correspondence to the distributor:

Inkululeko Publications

39 Goodge Street

London W 1 England

THE AFRICAN COMMUNIST

*Published quarterly in the interests of
African solidarity, and as a forum for
Marxist-Leninist thought throughout
our Continent, by the
South African Communist Party*

No. 46 Third Quarter 1971

CONTENTS

- 5 Editorial Notes**
When Houphouet-Boigny Nearly Cried
Growing Militancy in South Africa
African Resistance
White Reactions
50th Anniversary of Labour Monthly
- 21 Fifty Fighting Years**
Statement by the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party
- 29 50 Years of the Communist Party – 3 :
From 'Fusion' to Fascism, by A Lerumo**
The Party faces up to fascism and war in the late thirties and early forties. After the war the Nationalist Party comes to power and the Communist Party is driven underground.
- 42 Builders of the Party**
Photographs of some South African Communist Party leaders during the last 50 years
- 50 Why I Joined the Communist Party**
1 *The Impact of the Durban Riots, by Zakhele Zulu*
2 *People Can Change, by Diana Wood*
- 58 Ten Years of the Republic by Phineas Malinga**
The Republican Decade has been a bitter one for the people of South Africa. They had nothing to celebrate on May 31. Yet they have cause to be thankful that they and their liberation movement have survived, are still fighting and are even in a position to move on to the offensive.

- 68 24th Congress of the Soviet Communist Party**
by a Member of the Delegation of the South African Communist Party
The CPSU Congress was a momentous event of far-reaching significance, not only for the Soviet people engaged in the herculean task of constructing Communism, but for the whole of mankind struggling against the forces of reaction, war and exploitation and for peace, national independence and socialism.
- 77 Message of the Communist Party**
Delivered by J B Marks, Chairman of the SACP
- 79 Statement on the Sale of British Arms to South Africa**
- 81 Africa Notes and Comments**
By A Langa
France and Africa – 1 : Licking the Hand That Feeds You
France and Africa – 2 : The South African Conspiracy
France and Africa – 3 : Menacing Algerian Independence
African Martyr : Ernest Ouandie
Tanzania : People's Army for Socialism
- 91 Book Reviews**
Africa and South Africa – The Implications of South Africa's 'Outward Looking' Policy by Robert Molteno. (P.M.)
Africa Fights for Independence by V Solodovnikov (Alexander Sibeko); *Rhodesia : The British Dilemma* by E E M Mlambo (Z. N.) *Soledad Brother : The Prison Letters of George Jackson* (Scarlet Whitman); *Black America and the World Revolution* by Claude M Lightfoot (A.Z.); *The Hungry Half* by Idris Cox (A. Langa)
- 113 Documents**
Paul Robeson and Africa — Paper read to a symposium in Berlin in April by Alex la Guma.
- 120 Letters to the Editor**
South African Who's Who from Joe Kumalo, member of the Secretariat of the ANC Youth and Students' Section.
Africans are Rallying Against Imperialism from R H Nugent, Australia.

WHEN Houphouet- Boigny ALMOST CRIED

Vorster's virulent attack on Zambian President Kaunda for allegedly having made approaches to South Africa to initiate some sort of dialogue was plainly intended to split the Organisation of African Unity down the middle. It was also intended to pave the way for the press conference in Abidjan later in the month at which Ivory Coast President Houphouet-Boigny was supposed to announce his acceptance of Vorster's own invitation to a dialogue. Perhaps Vorster even hoped that his huffing and puffing would be enough to blow Kaunda right out of his presidential office.

In the event, Vorster seems to have underestimated the strength of African feeling against the apartheid policy. Even Houphouet-Boigny was offended by the crudeness of Vorster's tactics. "Tradition requires discreet diplomacy", he said at his press conference. "I do not approve of what Mr. Vorster has done". He believed these "polemics" should not have taken place.

Persistent questioning by African journalists at the press conference also forced from Houphouet-Boigny the declaration that the apartheid system "outrages us all and we identify completely with the universal decrees of condemnation". His only point in considering dialogue, he said, was to get an agreement in Africa to help the South African Whites to "enter into a dialogue with their own Blacks". He was disgusted, he said, that South Africans had been living for so many years without taking any steps to end themselves the apartheid sickness from which they were suffering.

Judging by the press publicity before the press conference, Houphouet-Boigny had been expected to announce his acceptance of Vorster's invitation. But when the time came to say "yes", he prevaricated. A skilled diplomat and former French Cabinet Minister, he couched his words so intricately that nobody was quite sure what he meant. Here are the actual words he used:

"Mr. Vorster has promised in fact to receive us in his country on equal footing. It will be, in my opinion, for those who are exclusively animated with the spirit of peace and in the interest of Africa, an act of faith and courage to reply favourably to the invitation of the South African Premier".

The first press reports which went out had it that Houphouet-Boigny had accepted Vorster's invitation, but the President's office in Abidjan later issued a denial and described the reports as "tendentious". John Worrall of the "Rand Daily Mail" reported from Abidjan: "It is said that the 65-year-old President was almost in tears Wednesday night at one report quoting him as saying categorically that he had accepted an invitation from Mr. Vorster to visit South Africa". There may have been endorsement of a principle, but there would be no

visit just yet, Worrall reported.

Let us accept that Houphouet-Boigny was flying a kite to test the reaction of the OAU conference scheduled to take place in June. The real point is: who made the kite and why?

A report from London published in the Johannesburg "Sunday Times" of May 2 gives a clue. It quotes "Zambian diplomats" as alleging that Vorster, more than a year ago, addressed secret letters to President Nixon, Pompidou, British Premier Wilson and the head of the Italian Government drawing attention to the following points:

1 "The launching of the Tanzam railroad project by Red China injected a grave new element into Africa's already seething political situation.

2 "The expected introduction of up to 15,000 Chinese engineers and other technicians in connection with the Tanzam project represented only the beginning of active Chinese involvement in the affairs of Africa. This posed a threat to security which South Africa was simply not prepared to accept.

3 "South Africa was ready to co-operate with the Western powers to meet and beat the challenge".

American, British, French and Italian sources in London would not comment. But the Zambian diplomats provided further evidence. Following the receipt of Vorster's letter, Wilson's under-secretary for Foreign Affairs, Lord Walston, visited South Africa, had three informal meetings with Vorster and pressed him to initiate a dialogue with Kaunda, whom Walston described as the key African leader of the region.

And Jean Foccart, the man in charge of France's Africa policies under both de Gaulle and Pompidou, simultaneously began pressing leaders of former African territories to begin thinking in terms of dialogue with South Africa.

The "Sunday Times" report concludes: "Both the British and the French were said then to have shared Mr. Vorster's concern over the implications of the Red Chinese presence in Africa, which they viewed as a threat to their own big commercial stake in the continent. The announcement this week by Ivory Coast President Houphouet-Boigny of his readi-

ness to meet Mr. Vorster to initiate dialogue was seen to be one direct result of M. Foccart's initiative".

A report from Abidjan published in the Johannesburg "Star" of May 1 provides further evidence.

"The point is that President Houphouet-Boigny has a chilling fear of Communism spreading in Africa and leaving in its wake chaos and confusion. . . . His country, with its strong ties to France, is distinctly Western orientated. There is not a single Leftist state diplomatically represented here".

To avert the threat of a "Vietnam-style war over South Africa that could spread throughout the continent", Houphouet-Boigny "seems to think that dialogue with South Africa could cool the tensions which have built up between White and Black Africa — tensions that could easily be exploited by the Communists. . . . It could be, speculation goes, that if he could get South Africa to reform its race policies and come out of the cold into the African body, there could be an effective military deterrent".

This theory fits in with British and French keenness to sell arms to South Africa. It also explains why the Vorster-Houphouet-Boigny exchange was welcomed in Washington, London, Paris, Tananarive, Kampala, Pretoria — and practically nowhere else.

The approach of the imperialists is quite shameless: they are prepared, as Heath has made plain, to accept apartheid South Africa as an ally in the cold (or hot) war against world Communism. They are trying to bully Africa into following suit, but regret to find that apartheid sticks more in African throats than in their own. So they are increasing the pressure — on Kaunda, on Nyerere, on any African leader who shows any signs of independence.

All can now see that "dialogue" is not just a trick of Vorster's to smash African opposition to apartheid, but is also a weapon of the West to drag Africa into the imperialist camp. "Dialogue" is now clearly exposed as a threat to African freedom and independence. The threat is both real and dangerous, and one can only express the hope that free Africa will as speedily as possible organise and fight against it. There

can be no compromise with fascism. Remember Munich.

* * * * *

GROWING MILITANCY IN SOUTH AFRICA

The deteriorating situation of the Black peoples of South Africa under apartheid is leading to a growing spirit of militancy amongst the masses. Not only have there been a number of acts of resistance and rebellion in both town and country in recent months, but the intense pressure of Black public opinion has forced even stooge leaders like Transkei Premier Matanzima and coloured council chairman Swartz to reflect the people's anger.

In his March Budget, Finance Minister Diederichs criticised the wealthy Whites for splashing their money about too freely and imposed higher direct and indirect taxes to reduce demand inflation. White business leaders, both English and Afrikaans, criticised his Budget as ineffective. But all were agreed that the burden on the Blacks would be increased.

The Whites can survive Diederichs' feeble offensive by living off their fat. But the Blacks, most of whom already live below the breadline, have no savings to fall back on and no luxuries to cut down on. Hundreds of thousands of Africans have no jobs in the first place. Expelled from the towns and dumped in desert places in the reserves, they mill around in desperation. A tax or price increase simply means even less food in the stomachs of an already starving people, more sickness and death.

That is why a bus fare increase for coloured workers in Port Elizabeth at the beginning of March sparked off a riot. The increase in itself amounted to only one cent. But coming after increases in rents and the price of bread, paraffin and other commodities, a forced removal from their homes, the abolition of their municipal franchise and other humiliations, it was the last straw.

Not that it was the coloured people who rioted. Once again, the honour of launching a disturbance and shedding blood

fell to the police. Ten thousand coloured people at a peaceful meeting of protest decided to boycott the buses and walk to and from work each day — anything up to five miles for some of the participants. Many had been doing this off their own bat for a week before the meeting was held.

Not a coloured hand had been raised in anger, not a bus had been stoned, until the police started to make arrests at the meeting. Mr. F.L. Erasmus, chairman of the Bus Fares Action Committee and vice-chairman of the Coloured Management Committee, pointed out afterwards that there had been “a week of peaceful protest without the police. The only time they come, there’s trouble. When people see the police it is like a red rag before a bull”.

Police, of course, claim they shot in self defence. But among the ten people reported shot were a pregnant woman, a girl of 15, and a man — in the back. Police armed with pistols, clubs, sten guns, dogs and tear gas also made several baton charges into the crowd, and later raided the homes of the people in Gelvandale, clubbing men, women and children indiscriminately.

It was after the police resorted to violence that the people attacked the buses — and then the boycott was complete. The whole community walked, and the buses had to be withdrawn. Weeks later the people were still walking — on one publicised occasion supported by a party of White and Non-White priests.

In the ensuing weeks a total of 46 coloured people were brought before the courts on charges of incitement, public violence etc., but at the time of writing no evidence had been led and all the accused had been remanded in custody.

The Port Elizabeth riot alarmed White South Africa. The Government, adopting its usual “no compromise” line, refused to appoint a commission of inquiry. But the Mayor of Port Elizabeth then commissioned an inquiry from the City Council’s director of housing, and his report makes interesting reading.

It urged decisive action by the City Council and the State to improve the lot of Port Elizabeth’s 97,000 coloured people, and warned that disturbances similar to those at Gelyandale

could occur if nothing was done.

The report found that more than half the coloured male workers earn less than R67 a month — far below the bread-line. Average families sleep four to a bedroom, and the housing backlog totals 9,000. Overcrowding reduced job productivity and led to various social evils.

There are too few job openings for coloured matriculants, says the report, and “advanced” coloured people resent the disparity between wages paid to coloured people and Whites with the same qualifications doing the same work.

Facilities and social services were inadequate, and mass removals had greatly worsened the situation. The report urged a transport subsidy and wage increases for coloured employees as the first step towards the “significant improvements” in the lot of the coloured people which were necessary.

Of course in South Africa, because the Blacks have no representation in any law-making body and no franchise, it has to take a riot and bloodshed before the eyes of the White rulers can be opened — and even then it is doubtful if anything will be done. Meanwhile the frustration builds up.

It is against this background that other incidents amongst the coloured community must be viewed.

In April all five members of the Port Elizabeth City Council’s Coloured Management Committee walked out of their monthly meeting as a demonstration of “disgust and disillusionment at the treatment dealt out to them by the City Council”.

At the official opening of a new housing scheme in Port Elizabeth by the Minister of Community Development, Blaar Coetzee, early in April, ministers of religion walked out while the Minister was speaking. Later they handed in a petition to the Minister protesting that conditions in the Coloured townships, aggravated by the mass removals, were destroying home and family life and creating vandalism and illegitimacy.

In Cape Town, also in the first week of April, hundreds of Coloured jazz fans jeered at police and security guards when they evicted a group of about 50 young Whites from a jazz festival at the Athlone stadium.

In Pretoria, on April 7, the National President of the Coloured Labour Party, Mr. Sonny Leon, called on the clergy, especially the Non-White clergy, to speak out from their pulpits against apartheid and oppression. How was it, he asked, that thousands of Coloured people belonged to the Dutch Reformed Church whose ministers preached separation?

At its national conference in Johannesburg in April, the Coloured Labour Party called on the Government to stop interfering in the affairs of Non-White sports bodies, backed "free and open selection" of sports teams, expressed vigorous opposition to the Republican Festival on May 31, rejected the idea of a Coloured homeland, called for the repeal of the Slum Clearance Act and the Group Areas Act. The party resolved on a policy of "boycott and defiance" in place of "dialogue" with the authorities.

Coloured Labour Party leaders have taken a prominent part in the campaign for clemency for South African political prisoners.

Most significant was the meeting of Labour Party leaders with Chief Gatsha Buthelezi with a view to co-ordination of opposition to Government policies . . . a meeting which led to the resignation of Natal leader E.G. Rooks who complained the Labour Party was becoming "too militant".

Even arch-stooge Tom Swartz, Government-appointed chairman of the Coloured Representative Council and leader of the pro-apartheid Federal Party, in a statement in mid-April warned the Government that a "fifth column" could develop in South Africa if the Government ignored the bitterness of the people and failed to remove the "injustices and pinpricks which Non-Whites suffer in this country". Swartz listed job reservation and salary discrimination as among the major grievances of the people. He also said the Coloured people resented the red carpet being rolled out for Black foreign VIPs while South Africa's own Blacks were refused the same privileges.

* * * * *

AFRICAN RESISTANCE

If this ferment is agitating the Coloured people, how much more intense must feeling be amongst the Africans, the most hard-pressed and hounded of all South Africa's peoples? There have been increasing reports of resistance to removal schemes. On March 6, 1971, the "Rand Daily Mail" reported: "Strong resistance by members of the Batlhaping tribe, at Majeng, near Taung, against being moved by the Department of Bantu Administration and Development from land it has occupied for the past 62 years has forced the Department to suspend the removal".

A group of Africans have resisted a move by the Potchefstroom Town Council to evict them from land they have occupied since the turn of the century and which they claim was given to them by President Kruger. Their Chief, Israel Nokate, was prosecuted and their cattle were impounded for non-payment of grazing fees — but the cattle had to be returned when the impost, totalling about R1,000, was paid by an anonymous Johannesburg businessman.

In Natal last March an African impi attacked a police party who were trying to impound their cattle. Later three vanloads of police armed with pistols and sten guns combed the area but could make no arrests as the Africans had taken to the hills.

In mid-April the "Star" reported that farmers in the Groblersdal area were sleeping armed in their mealie fields "to protect crops from raiding Africans Farmers say that up to 60 bags of maize crops have been carried away nightly by raiders who 'harvest' the crops on an organised basis. The farmers complain bitterly that lands bordering Brakfontein have become valueless. The Africans have taken over most of the land for their stock and plunder everything planted on the lands. What the Africans cannot carry away they burn".

A few days later the "Rand Daily Mail" reported: "A fresh spate of cattle rustling by gangs of hungry Africans has left many Sandton residents angry and helpless. Stock worth thousands of rand has been stolen by bold gangs of night

marauders. The rustlers recently raided a homestead twice in one week, forcing their way through padlocked gates to reach the cattle. In most cases the animals are slaughtered after being taken”.

Similar reports come from other areas. In the Transkei we can only guess at the situation from the report given to Parliament on April 2, 1971, that 37 people had been detained in the last nine months under the Transkei emergency regulations which have been in force ever since 1960.

Perhaps the best clue to the extent of unrest amongst the Africans is provided by the increasing militancy of the utterances by their Government-appointed mouthpieces. In January of this year Chief Gatsha Buthelezi, chief executive officer of the Zululand Territorial Authority, attacked the Government's apartheid policies as “a deliberate denial of human rights to other human beings We have seen during the lifetime of most of us how similar ideas spurred Hitler on to his grandiose views on the superiority of the Aryan race and how he exterminated millions of Jews”.

The discrimination in education, jobs, wages and taxes was attacked by Chief Lucas Mangope, the Chief Councillor of the Tswanas, at the opening of the third session of the Tswana Territorial Authority in March.

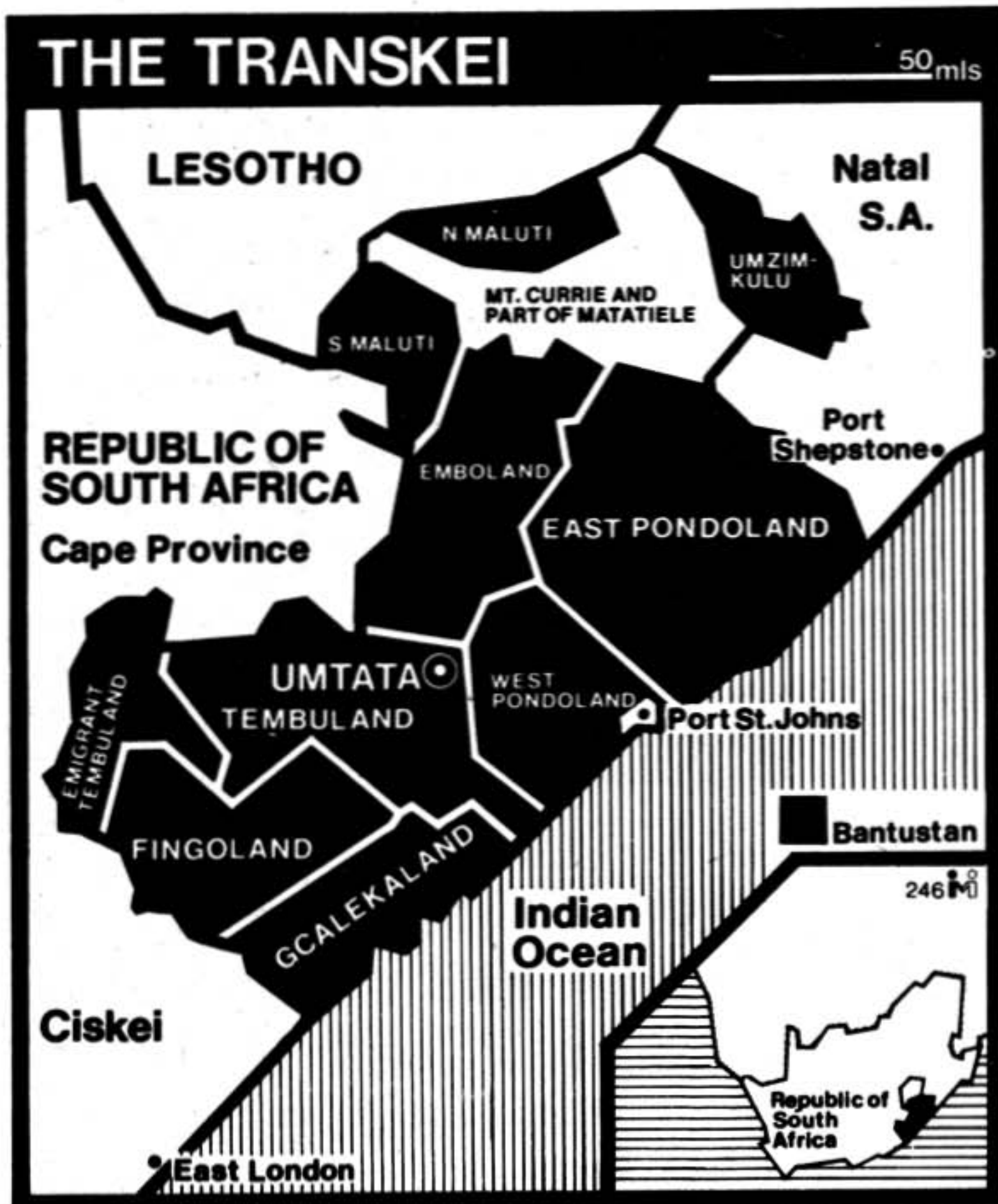
Similar criticism was voiced in mid-April by Prof. H.W.E. Ntsanwise, head of the Machangana Territorial Authority, who said that at the moment there was more on the debit side of separate development than there was on the credit side.

Complaints about influx control and the land question were voiced, also in April, by Chief M.M. Matlala, Chief Councillor of the Lebowa Territorial Authority.

Most publicised of all, of course, were the demands voiced by Transkei Premier Chief Kaiser Matanzima at the annual congress of his Transkei National Independence Party in Umtata on April 13. Pointing out that the Africans, who constituted 70 per cent of the country's population, were allowed to occupy only one eighth of the land, Matanzima demanded the incorporation of a number of White spots in the Transkei, including Port St. Johns, stressing: “Unless the

land question is settled fairly there can never be good relations between the two racial groups". No country could be self-governing or independent unless it had full control of the land within its boundaries, he said.

He asked for the transfer to the Transkei Government of the Departments of Health, Posts and Telegraphs, Transport Police and Defence, saying this was a test of the sincerity of



the Vorster Government's utterances about the development of the "homelands" to full independence.

He also demanded a complete reorientation of the Vorster Government's labour policies. As a result of influx control, thousands of Africans were being repatriated to the Transkei from the white areas. This resulted in mass unemployment, as the Transkei was already overcrowded. There should be higher wages and lower taxes for Africans in South Africa, he said.

Matanzima's demands threw the Whites in the Eastern Cape into a tizzy. Land prices dropped, business slumped and development plans were shelved. Mr. Keith Rock, president of the Kokstad Chamber of Commerce, said: "Once again we have that depressed feeling".

In Parliament an angry Minister of Bantu Administration and Development, M.C. Botha, slapped down Matanzima's demands with contempt. He would not tolerate leaders of fledgling Bantustans making public demands or attempting to hold the Nationalists to ransom in any way, he said. He wanted to make it very clear that the Government had no intention of handing over any of the White spots to the Transkei. It was not "Christianly ethical" that land which had been developed by the Whites should be handed over to the Africans, who were not able to take proper care of the land they already had. The Transkei was not overpopulated, he maintained, merely "incorrectly populated" in some parts. The influx control laws and the retention of White officials in Transkei Government departments was in the Africans' own interests.

Five days later Premier Vorster backed up his Minister by saying that when the Government had completed the land purchase promised in the 1936 Lands and Trust Act (there are still well over 1 million morgen to be bought), "as far as my Government and I are concerned, the matter of land demands will have been disposed of".

Matanzima was not put out. He told a "Rand Daily Mail" correspondent that he would not stop making claims. "We are playing a game and nobody knows when we shall score".

His Minister of Roads and Works, Mr. C.M.C. Ndamse, speaking in the Transkei Legislative Assembly a few days later, said the stage was set, a drama was unfolding and "the Black giant's voice" was being heard from one end of the country to the other. The leader of the Opposition Democratic Party, Mr. Guzana, had made a "very pertinent allusion that we are discriminated against. That doesn't worry the Government of the Transkei. We can storm these restaurants and hotels tomorrow. All we are doing is we are giving the White man a chance to change his ways while there is yet time".

The Transkei Minister of Justice, George Matanzima, asked why the Transkei could not declare UDI like Rhodesia. And in Zululand, Chief Buthelezi warmly applauded the demands of the Transkei Government leaders, adding for good measure his own demand for the inclusion of Richards Bay in the territory of Zululand.

Granted that Bantustan is a fraud, that the Vorster Government has no intention of giving independence to anybody. Granted that the Bantustan leaders are mostly a bunch of opportunists hoping to get what they can out of "separate development". The fact remains they have not always spoken like this, and would not speak so now, were there not tremendous pressure from below forcing them to take up a stance.

It is the growth of this pressure which is of the utmost importance. Correctly channeled, it could be a revolutionary force for change in South Africa.

Daily, events in South Africa are confirming the correctness of the analysis made by the augmented meeting of the Central Committee of the South African Communist Party last year "that the objective conditions exist for a national democratic revolution which will destroy South African imperialism, win the national liberation of the African and other oppressed peoples, and bring about profound democratic changes in line with the demands of the Freedom Charter".

* * * * *

WHITE REACTIONS

It would be wrong to think that the Whites in South Africa are unaffected by the pressures which are tugging the country apart, or that they are all reacting in the same way. Every crisis produces a polarisation, and the present time is no exception. Without wishing to propagate any illusions that change in South Africa will come from change inside the White community, one cannot but comment at the same time that criticism of apartheid by Whites has seldom been so widespread as it is now. The critics have various motives. Some want apartheid relaxed because they want to make bigger profits from a mobile labour force. Some want to return to the international sports fields from which they are increasingly barred. Some want to damp down the fires of revolution; a few want to stoke them up. Some, without analysing the situation very deeply, just find they cannot live with themselves any more if they stay quiet in the face of genocide. Doubt and division have spread into the very heart of Afrikanerdom; white South Africa has seldom presented a picture of such uncertainty and confusion.

On the eve of the Budget last March, the Johannesburg Afrikaanse Sakekamer, representing the largest and most influential section of Afrikaner business life, warned the Government that a crisis was impending. The chairman, Mr. Wally van Deventer, noted a rapid loss of the spirit of enterprise and economic enthusiasm, doubt in the economic practicability of apartheid, excessive legislation, regulation and bureaucracy, from all of which the Afrikaner businessman was suffering most of all.

Addressing students at the Pretoria University graduation ceremony in March, Dr. Jan S. Marais, chairman of the Trust Bank, said opposition to racial discrimination was snowballing throughout the world, and South African (white) youth was growing particularly opposed to "purely sentimental indoctrination". He added: "I believe we must accept the fact that with every second which ticks past the whole civilised world will be less willing to condone any form of discrimination on

the grounds of birth, colour or background”

At the annual meeting of the South African Foundation in March, Maj.Gen. Sir Francis de Guingand in his presidential address, attacked arrest and detention without trial, job reservation and the arbitrary nature of influx control — all obviously bad for business and impossible to defend before overseas audiences.

The campaign for clemency for political prisoners attracted very wide support. Organisations which took part in the campaign included the National Union of South African Students, the University Christian Movement, many Students Representative Councils and the Coloured Labour Party. Individual support came from Alan Paton, Dr. Barnard, Roman Catholic Archbishop Denis Hurley, Anglican Archbishop Selby Taylor, author Andre Brink, the President of the Durban Chamber of Commerce, Stellenbosch lecturers, academics at various English-language universities, three ex-judges, Chief Buthelezi and UCT vice-chancellor Sir Richard Luyt. Many of the meetings held in support of the campaign had multi-racial platforms.

During the same period, there have also been widely-supported campaigns against censorship and the death penalty.

Thousands of White spectators roundly booed Sports Minister Frankie Waring when he came to present the prizes at the South African tennis championships at Ellis Park in April. And the country's foremost white cricketers walked off the field at Newlands on April 4 declaring (and this is more than their administrators are prepared to do) “we cricketers . . . subscribe to merit being the only criterion on the cricket field”.

Maybe not all these white men and women are revolutionaries. Maybe not all are ready to stand unequivocally for equal rights for all, or to accept a South Africa fashioned on the lines of the Freedom Charter. At the same time, it would be wrong to dismiss them all as hypocrites, and to ignore that thousands of Whites are saying and doing things today which they would not have said and done ten years ago. This, too, is a symptom of the crisis through which the country is passing.

50TH ANNIVERSARY OF LABOUR MONTHLY

This year, 1971, will see the 50th Anniversary of the Foundation of the British journal Labour Monthly and the 75th birthday of its Editor, R. Palme Dutt.

There is possibly no parallel, past or present, in any capitalist country in the world of this unbroken publication for 50 years of a socialist journal, upholding a consistent editorial line of adherence to the principles of Marxism-Leninism, class solidarity and internationalism, and combining this with the widest range of contributions from outstanding progressive spokesmen of the trade union, labour and cultural fields, and consistently campaigning for broad progressive co-operation.

Contributors during these 50 years have included such representative figures as Bernard Shaw, H.G. Wells, Compton Mackenzie and James Aldridge in the literary field; Tom Mann, A.J. Cook and most of the best known leaders in the trade unions and the factories; George Lansbury, Pollitt, Cole, Laski and Brockway in the political labour movement; Rutland Boughton and Alan Bush in the field of music; Bernal and J.B.S. Haldane in the field of science; Nehru, Gandhi, Azikiwe, Cheddie Jagan, Clara Zetkin and Barbusse in the international field.

In addition to this record of 50 years of unbroken publication, the editorial responsibility throughout these 50 years has been continuously in the hands of R. Palme Dutt as Editor and R. Page Arnot as Associate Editor, who have co-operated in the production of every issue from the first number to the present.

The cause of the oppressed peoples of South Africa has always been warmly espoused in the columns of Labour Monthly. To its Editor and staff we convey our warmest congratulations on this noteworthy anniversary, and sincere thanks for the services they have rendered to all progressive mankind.

**STATEMENT BY THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE
SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY**

FIFTY FIGHTING YEARS

July 30 1921, the date of the foundation of our Party, is an important landmark for the people of our country, and indeed for the international working class movement.

Here was a Party born and baptised in fierce struggle; for South Africa, the source of most of the gold in the capitalist world for the past century, is the arena of most acute imperialist, national and class contradictions and conflicts.

Here, within a single state frontier are to be found modern imperialism, monopoly capitalism, and colonialism of a special type, brutally exercised against the indigenous Africans.

Robbed of their ancestral lands, the majority of the population have been herded into 'reserves' or 'Bantu homelands', urban locations and 'resettlement areas' and forced by starvation and organised terror into an army of proletarians to supply cheap labour to white-owned mines, farms and factories.

Rampant racialism, the theory and practice of 'apartheid', subjects every 'non-white' in South Africa to daily insults and hardships. Eighty-seven per cent of the land is in the hands of the white minority. A million people are jailed every year under the pass laws. The right to vote, like all other citizenship rights, is denied to all who are not white. Skilled jobs and trade union rights are for whites alone. Education and social services are minimal.

With their Communist Party, their trade unions, their African National Congress and all democratic organisations subjected to suppression by the fascist regime, the people have understood that all their problems and grievances can only be solved by the revolutionary overthrow of white minority rule; that only through prolonged and

bitter armed struggle can liberation be won.

Their organisations, centred around the African National Congress, are actively organising for, arming and mobilising the people for this struggle. Closely united with the people, inspiring and fighting with them, now as for the past fifty years of struggle and sacrifice, is the Party of the South African working class: the Communist Party.

Even at the time of its foundation, the leaders of the Party — W.H. Andrews, D.I. Jones, S.P. Bunting and others — were already veteran militants of the class struggle. From the outbreak of the first world war, they adopted a firm internationalist position, denounced the pro-imperialist section of the Labour Party and established the International Socialist League. The ISL made a sharp break from the opportunist and white chauvinist policy of the Labour Party and determinedly set about the industrial organisation and Marxist education of the burgeoning African working class.

From its inception right up to the present day our Party has been closely and indissolubly linked with the bitter struggles of the working people of our country against class and national oppression.

These hard struggles, analysed in the illuminating light of Marxist-Leninist science and with the fraternal assistance of the Communist International transformed the nature of the Party and immeasurably deepened its understanding of its historic role in the complex conditions of South Africa. The Party overcame the heritage of its origins as the left-wing of what was then a predominantly white-immigrant labour movement. Following its historic 1924 Conference, led by S.P. Bunting, the Party made a decisive turn towards the oppressed black masses, recruiting into its ranks outstanding African revolutionaries of the calibre of M.M. Kotane, J.B. Marks, A. Nzula, J. Nkosi, E.T. Mofutsanyana and others.

Following a period of internal struggle in the thirties, during which serious damage was done by a left-sectarian tendency temporarily dominating the leadership, a new Central Committee was elected in 1939 with M.M. Kotane as general secretary.

The following decade was one of the consistent raising of the membership and activity of the Party. It led the fight against fascism at home and abroad, and strove ceaselessly to unite the workers and oppressed people in defence of their rights. The Party strove persistently to strengthen and unite the African National Congress, the South

African Indian Congress, the revolutionary trade union movement and other organisations striving for democracy. Through the untiring efforts of Communist and non-Communist patriots within these movements a firm basis was laid for the emergence of the united national front of liberation of our country, the Congress Alliance, and its common programme, the Freedom Charter.

Although, for the first thirty years of its existence, the Party had maintained a status of formal legality its members and leaders had always been subjected to persecution and intimidation by the imperialist rulers of the country. The unforgettable martyr of the African people, Comrade Johannes Nkosi, was brutally done to death by police at a mass demonstration in Durban on 16 December 1930. Few if any members were unfamiliar with the police cells.

Even this period of precarious legality was brought to an end with the passing of the Suppression of Communism Act (1950) outlawing the Party and making the defence of Marxist-Leninist ideas a 'crime' subject to heavy penalties. This vicious law, the forerunner of many fascist measures by the Nationalist Party government which have transformed South Africa into a police state on the Hitlerite model, met with firm opposition from the oppressed masses. The Party's Central Committee at that time – influenced by legalistic and even liquidationist ideas which had penetrated the Party – was unprepared theoretically and practically for the new situation and decided to dissolve the Party. The great majority of the Communists of South Africa nevertheless threw themselves with dedication and courage into the taxing task of rebuilding, in conditions of illegality and mounting terror, the South African Communist Party, which upholds and continues the great Party tradition of half a century of unremitting struggle in the front ranks of the South African revolution for national liberation and democracy.

Throughout the fifties the Party and its members added new lustre to the glorious principles of Marxism-Leninism by their devotion and sacrifices in the common cause. Communist and non-Communist, revolutionaries of all national groups stood united against the blood-stained racialist regime. In the words of Comrade Abram Fischer:

'... in the movement for freedom and equal human rights for all... it was always members of the Communist Party who seemed prepared, regardless of cost, to sacrifice most, to give of their best, to face the greatest dangers in the struggle...'

The Communists — Moses Kotane, Yusuf Dadoo, J.B. Marks and others — were among the first to volunteer and the foremost to lead in the great campaigns of Defiance of Unjust Laws, of national general strikes, of workers', rural peoples', women's and youth struggles which characterised the fifties. They participated in the epic movement for the mass Congress of the People, culminating in the adopting of the Freedom Charter, common programme of the united liberation movement. Revolutionaries of different ideological tendencies participated in the moulding and building of that united movement and its programme, in which an outstanding contribution was made by South Africa's Communists.

The unity of Communist and non-Communist revolutionaries and democrats was welded yet more firmly during the marathon Treason Trial of 1956-61 of 156 men and women of all national groups, charged for their participation in the movement and support for the Charter. Mass support at home and abroad resulted in the freeing of all those accused before the Courts.

The reaction of the fascist government was to discard legal procedures in favour of lawless police terrorism. The African National Congress was declared illegal and every known member or supporter of the liberation movement subjected to systematic persecution.

The militant mass struggles of the fifties, although they stopped short of violence on the part of the people, shook the ruling classes and the colonialist apartheid structure of South Africa. Unable to continue their rule in the old way, they abandoned all pretences at bourgeois legality and took the road of naked terrorist dictatorship against the oppressed people.

It became clear to the masses and to all honest patriots that no other choice remained between submission to slavery and armed resistance and revolution.

Leaders of the African National Congress and the Communist Party set themselves to recruit and train fighting cadres which entered the field of action on 16 December 1961 with the opening of a campaign of planned sabotage throughout the country. The process was begun of preparing for armed combat.

In 1962 the Party made a major contribution to the South African revolution in its Programme, adopted after intensive discussion among all levels of the membership.

In its explanation of the situation, and above all in its Marxist-Leninist analysis of the problems of the country contained in the 1962 Programme, *The Road to South African Freedom*, the Communist Party provided the revolutionary theory, the application of Marxism-Leninism to the history and structure of the country, essential for the victory of the revolutionary movement.

The Programme definitively describes the special type of colonialism developed in South Africa. It sets forth as the immediate and foremost task of the Party the winning of a united front of national liberation, uniting all sections and classes of oppressed and democratic people for a national democratic revolution. This revolution to destroy white domination, whose main content will be the national liberation of the African people, is seen as the essential condition and the key for the advance to a socialist South Africa, the supreme aim of the Communist Party.

The period of the sixties saw many severe blows struck at the Communist Party, the African National Congress and other organisations demanding democracy and liberation.

Following a raid on the underground Party headquarters at Rivonia a number of the most outstanding revolutionary leaders, both Communists and non-Communists, were arrested and tried on charges of planning to overthrow the state by armed revolutionary struggle. Despite world-wide protests, including a 106-1 vote at the United Nations General Assembly, 8 of the accused were sentenced to life imprisonment: Mandela, Sisulu, Mbeki, Mhlaba, Goldberg, Kathrada, Motsoaledi and Mlangeni.

Hundreds of Congressites and Communists were detained without trial, subjected to prolonged torture and some even murdered in the police cells.

The great majority of those detained refused to testify against their comrades, even to the point of death. But a few were broken by the police, resulting in yet further trials, such as that of Mkwazi, Kitson and others, also resulting in life sentences, the execution of the trade unionists Mini, Khayinga and Mkaba in November 1964, and the rounding up of thousands of Party and Congress supporters, and trade unionists throughout the country,

A further heavy blow was sustained by the Party in 1965 with the arrest and sentence to life imprisonment of Comrade Abram Fischer

who had been living in hiding and leading the underground work of the Party at that time.

These heavy blows sustained in these attacks by the powerfully-armed and heavily subsidised secret police machine inflicted grave setbacks on the cadres and organisation of both the Party and the national liberation movement. But they did not, and could not, destroy the confidence and support of the masses of the people for their movements and their leaders and their will to carry on the struggle to victory and freedom.

The Party patiently and determinedly rebuilt its organisation in the country, learning from past errors of overconfidence and underestimation of the enemy, combining legal with illegal methods, and employing new tactics adapted to the present situation of terrorism.

The past few years have seen one campaign after another of well-executed illegal propaganda campaigns in which leaflets, recorded messages and other forms of propaganda have been broadcast to the masses from both the Party and the African National Congress.

At the same time, cadres sent abroad by the Party and the national liberation movement have sustained and intensified their activities. Cadres of Umkhonto we Sizwe, with the fraternal aid of the African, socialist and other states and organisations have been welded into the well-trained and armed nucleus of a mass people's army, spearhead of the South African revolution. In alliance with the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union, units of Umkhonto we Sizwe have proved their mettle in armed combat with the joint South African and Rhodesian 'security forces'.

In the field of international solidarity the movement has tirelessly worked to bring home the ugly realities of South African racism and fascism on a world scale, to stimulate movements for the boycotting and isolation of the fascist regime in the military, commercial, cultural and all other fields, and to mobilise support for the South African freedom fighters. The movement has built strong ties of solidarity with the fighting patriots of neighbouring countries and the Portuguese colonies. It has won powerful, world-wide support from fellow-Africans in most of the newly-independent states, from the governments of the socialist countries, and from working class and democratic forces in the imperialist countries.

The South African Communist Party has consistently upheld the

cause of proletarian internationalism, of unity within the Communist movement and of common action by all anti-imperialist forces throughout the world. It has consistently upheld the banner raised by the founders of the Party: the banner of revolutionary working class unity, around the October Revolution and the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

Our Party has actively and positively contributed to the work of preparing for and participating in the historic conferences of Communist and Workers' Parties; it upholds and implements their decisions.

At the same time, especially through the Party journal *The African Communist*, we have done and will continue to do our share in spreading the liberating ideas of Marxism-Leninism throughout our continent. The Communist Party enters the period of the 1970's with profound confidence in the principles of our Party, tested and vindicated in fifty years of experience, and in the victory of the forces of freedom in our country, of socialism throughout the world.

The 1970 Augmented Central Committee meeting of our Party was an important milestone in its history.

The meeting realistically reviewed the policy and activities of the Central Committee over the period that had elapsed since the 1962 National Conference. Confirming the correctness of the Party's general line it, at the same time, established the broad political, strategic and organisational guidelines for the coming period in the development of the South African revolution.

The meeting pledged unqualified support for the liberation army, Umkhonto we Sizwe in its aims to recruit and train guerilla fighters, to spread the area of guerilla warfare to the heart of the republic.

Expressing its firm belief that 'the building of our Party as the Marxist-Leninist vanguard of the working class is a vitally important contribution to victory in the common struggle', the meeting instructed the Central Committee to direct its main efforts 'to the reconstruction of the Party at home as an organisation of professional revolutionaries', close to the working masses and able to carry on the Party's work in the face of police terror.

The Augmented Central Committee took steps to strengthen and renew the personnel of the Central Committee, while maintaining continuity and expressing its confidence by re-electing the senior officials, the General Secretary and Chairman of the Party, Comrades Moses M.

Kotane and J.B. Marks.

A rousing 'Call to the People of South Africa', issued by the meeting recalled the glorious record of our Party.

For fifty years our Party has never feared to fight in the front ranks against colour bars and oppression, for better wages, land, a new life of freedom for the people. Hundreds of our best comrades, from Johannes Nkosi to Govan Mbeki, Ahmed Kathrada and Bram Fischer have given their lives and liberty for the cause of the people.

This party can never be killed by the enemy.

Now, on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of our fighting Party, and on behalf of all our members, we solemnly rededicate ourselves to our historic task. In the name of our pioneers who first raised the banner of Communism in Africa; of our comrades who died on the field of battle, on the scaffold and in the prison cells, and those who languish in South Africa's fascist jails, we pledge that we shall never lower our red banner but carry it forward to victory.

LONG LIVE THE UNITY OF COMMUNISTS AND NON-COMMUNISTS IN THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST FREEDOM FIGHT!

LONG LIVE THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY!

LONG LIVE COMMUNISM!

FROM «FUSION» TO FASCISM

by A. Lerumo

The political, economic and social structure of South Africa rests on the foundation of the colonial dispossession and enslavement of the African people. To maintain and perpetuate that structure is the cardinal policy of all sections of the white ruling classes. Differences between them are and have ever been related only to the question of how best to achieve this policy. They are quick to sink their differences and join forces if the colonialist structure itself is at stake.

The dominant British imperialist and Witwatersrand finance-capitalist interests, represented traditionally by Smuts and his South African Party, strove to cover the brutal reality of the state behind a facade of respectability and humanitarian benevolence. There was much talk of 'Christian trusteeship' and vague democratic principle. The Cape franchise system (whereby a few Coloured and African men, a small fraction of the electorate in that Province, were entitled to vote for white men to represent them in Parliament and the Provincial Council) was upheld as a model towards which the remaining three provinces would advance in a more 'enlightened' but unspecified future. Much emphasis was placed on the cultivation of African, Coloured and Indian 'elites' and making minimal and illusory 'concessions' to them, as an insurance against revolution.

By contrast the Afrikaner rural (and, increasingly, urban) bourgeoisie, represented by Hertzog's Nationalist Party, had no time for such compromises. They had come to office in the twenties by a mixture of 'anti-imperialist' demagogy and by inflaming the white chauvinism of the electorate. Unable seriously to challenge the positions of monopoly capitalism in the economic and political life of the country, the National government sought still further to entrench white privilege and solve economic difficulties at the expense of the oppressed African

and other dark-skinned people.

Two measures in particular (the 'Hertzog Bills') were proposed for this purpose. The first was intended to complete and perpetuate the alienation of Africans from the land, as envisaged under the 1913 Land Act. The second was to remove the remaining African voters in the Cape from the common electoral roll. This required the support of the Smuts Party, for it required a two-thirds majority vote in Parliament. This the SAP-men refused, vowing that they would fight to the death in defence of the democratic principle.

The 'Fusion' Sell-Out

This shadow-boxing was abruptly ended by the intrusion of reality. Economic crisis spread through the capitalist world in the early thirties, following the spectacular crash of the U.S. Stock Exchange. Financial instability, mass unemployment and depression, rocked the capitalist system. Britain left the gold standard, and following a brief show of independence, under heavy pressure from the mining magnates and the Bank of England, South Africa did the same. Smuts and his followers entered Hertzog's Cabinet as junior partners; hymns were sung to unity. In due course, the 'Saps' and the 'Nats' (with the exception of a few 'bitter-enders' headed by Dr. Malan), merged into a single Party, the 'United Party'.

The price of this politicians' honeymoon was paid by the working people, as unemployment and depression spread through the country. As part of the deal, Smuts and the 'liberals' dropped their opposition to the Hertzog Bills.

Abandoned by their self-proclaimed friends the African people found themselves faced with a major onslaught on their remaining land and rights by the united forces of white South Africa.

It was a time calling for sound leadership, united organisation and effective mass action. Unfortunately at the beginning of the thirties these were the qualities most lacking among the organisations of the oppressed people at the time.

The African National Congress was at its lowest ebb. Reacting against the militant Gumede leadership, which they branded as too 'extremist' and likely to antagonise white liberals, conservative and right-wing elements had captured the A.N.C. leadership at the 1930 national conference, on a platform of anti-Communism and reformist illusions.

As had been the case in the ICU when Kadalie 'purged' the Communists, this take-over was followed by a period of disorganisation and factionalism within, and lack of initiative and leadership at the top of, the ANC.

The situation in the ANC coincided with an ultra-left, sectarian and dogmatic tendency which had developed in the Communist Party at that time, represented primarily by two relative new-comers to the country and the Party, D. Wolton and L. Bach, who had rapidly risen to positions of leadership. Placing undue emphasis on the extent and influence of the 'native bourgeoisie', they isolated the Party from its allies. They began a purge of 'right-wing opportunists' within the Party which extended to the summary expulsion of W.H. Andrews and other veteran trade unionists, as well as that — accompanied by unbridled vilification — of the veteran champion of African rights, S.P. Bunting. M. Kotane, who continued to call for a united front policy in the national liberation struggle, was denounced as a 'bourgeois nationalist', with others who upheld his views. He was removed from the editorship of the Party journal *Umsebenzi*, and later expressed the opinion that had he not left the Party headquarters at Johannesburg for Cape Town at that time, he might also have suffered exclusion from the Party. It was many years before the Party recovered from this severe inner crisis.

The African people nevertheless rallied against the Hertzog Bills. One of the most representative gatherings held at that time was the All-African Convention at Bloemfontein on 15-18 December 1935. Presided over by Professor D.D.T. Jabavu, and attended by representatives of every shade of African, Indian and Coloured opinion, including the Communist Party, it unanimously and vigorously condemned the Bills. Mass protest demonstrations took place throughout the country. But the protests were ignored, the Africans' deputation to Hertzog was politely rebuffed and the Bills passed into law. They were a serious incursion against the rights and aspirations of the oppressed people: but they also struck a death-blow at the liberal illusions and compromising policies which the imperialists and their dupes and agents had for so long and so sedulously cultivated within the ranks of the liberation movement.

When the movement rallied it moved increasingly towards new policies and new methods of struggle, increasingly militant mass actions directed towards complete national emancipation of the African people, uniting all oppressed and democratic South Africans in revolutionary

struggle. In the evolution of those policies and methods the Communist Party played an important role.

The Shadow of Fascism

All over the world the working people faced acute problems and dangers in the thirties. The victory of Hitler's Nazi party in Germany, representing the most racialistic and aggressive sections of finance-capitalism, encouraged reaction everywhere and threatened to precipitate a new world war.

The nature of the fascist threat was brought home brutally to Africa by Mussolini's unprovoked aggression against the ancient kingdom of Ethiopia, the last remaining area of African independence. A wave of solidarity with the Ethiopians spread through the continent, expressed in our country by the refusal of black harbour workers to handle Italian armaments and war supplies.

Hitler's herrenvolk ideology evoked a powerful response among sections of the white racialists of South Africa. Organisations like the Greyshirts and the Blackshirts sprang up in imitation of the Nazi Party. Hitlerite ideas and influences were widespread in Malan's rump Nationalist Party; even within the ruling circles strident pro-Nazi voices were heard, notably that of the Defence Minister, Pirow. The Prime Minister himself, Hertzog, showed increasing susceptibility to German fascist influence.

This was by no means true to the same extent of the major centres of finance capitalism, closely aligned with British imperialism. They welcomed Hitler's ruthless attacks on the working class, on Communism and the Soviet Union, but observed with anxiety the threat of revived German imperialism to the status quo.

Among broad sections of the middle class and working class strong expressions of anti-fascist unity and action developed, in sympathy with and support of the Spanish, Czechoslovakian and other victims of aggression and against the spread of fascism in South Africa. The organised labour movement fought back against the fascist drive to infiltrate, undermine and capture the trade unions.

Like their comrades in other countries, especially following the Seventh Congress of the Communist International in 1935, the members of the Communist Party played an important part in alerting

the public to the fascist menace and rallying progressive sections against it. They took the initiative in establishing an Anti-Fascist League and in founding, in 1937, together with non-communist progressives, the Cape Town weekly, *The Guardian*, which played a vital and irreplaceable part in the democratic movement for many years.

Communist and non-Communist militants led in the revival of militancy in the national liberation movements. The National Liberation League, centred in Cape Town, the Non-European United Front and the nationalist blocs in the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congress heralded the beginning of a new era, demanding militant methods and the joining in common struggle of the liberationist forces. The 1937 celebrations of the 25th anniversary of the ANC sparked off a new upsurge of the Africans' major organisation. Party members like Ray Alexander and John Gomas in Cape Town, Issy Wolfson and Willy Kalk in the Transvaal and H.A. Naidoo and George Ponon in Natal made a major contribution towards the organisation of workers in the industries, on a non-racial basis.

But the political presence and organisational upbuilding of the Party lagged behind. The sectarian tendency had been ousted; but an aftermath of sectional disputes and bitterness remained especially at headquarters in Johannesburg.

A new chapter was opened with the transfer of headquarters to Cape Town at the end of 1939 and the election of a leadership headed by M. Kotane as General Secretary and the veteran W.H. Andrews as National Chairman. This was followed in 1940 by the election of a new Johannesburg District Committee, composed predominantly of a new generation of young comrades who had not been involved in the previous disputes. A new spirit of vigour and unity manifested itself in the working class and democratic movements. A new party journal incorporating a number of African languages – *Inkululeko* – (Freedom) renewed the tradition established by *Umsebenzi*, successor to *The International*, which had been allowed to lapse. Communist and non-Communist militants, brought together by the A.N.C., set about an energetic drive to organise the country's largest concentration of workers, the African mineworkers of the Witwatersrand.

War Years

In September 1939, the German invasion of Poland resulted in a

TONJENI AT GRAAFF REINET Agitator Comes to Country Corp

CONDITIONS IN A TYPICAL LOCATION

"Promoting Hostility"

Dear Comrade Editor,

Kindly publish this report in "Umsebenzi" for general information.

I arrived in Graaff-Reinet a few weeks ago and addressed some meetings in the location, which is inhabited both by Coloured and Native people. The location superintendent, a Euro-

pean, told me that at these times, if any person in the location, citizens of this country to learn that after he or she has faced severe ex- the Native women of Graaff-Reinet pence in building a house, falls into arrears with the rent, the cartilag god can proceed to such house, throw out the belongings and lock it up. It makes no difference even if the husband is away or the wife is sick; the slave family must suffer and sleep outside. That is the kind of civiliza-

tion in this country to learn that after he or she has faced severe ex- the Native women of Graaff-Reinet pence in building a house, falls into arrears with the rent, the cartilag god can proceed to such house, throw out the belongings and lock it up. It makes no difference even if the husband is away or the wife is sick; the slave family must suffer and sleep outside. That is the kind of civiliza-

INKULULEKO

No. 16. JOHANNESBURG, 16th JUNE, 1946.
Registered at the G.P.O. as a Newspaper.



MOFUTSANYANA TAKES OVER "INKULULEKO" EDITORSHIP

Mr. E. T. Mofutsanyana has been released from his work as organizer for the Johannesburg District of the Communist Party in order to take over the post of Editor-in-Chief of "Inkululeko." He will assume his duties immediately.

Mr. Mofutsanyana is known to the Johannesburg South Africa for his work as a writer and organizer.

IN CAPETOWN

5,000 MARCH AGAINST PASSES

THE Africans of Capetown demonstrated clearly their protest against Prime Minister Hertzog's undemocratic refusal to meet the Anti-Pass Deputation representing seven million Africans. They marched in their thousands through the main streets of Capetown, led by the Anti-Pass Deputation, to the House of Parliament. They carried banners inscribed "Down with the Pass Laws" and "Democracy for All."

The procession followed a route marked by the parade addressed by Dr. Y. M. Dadoo, C. R. V. Sekope, Thomas, D. W. Bopape, R. G. Daboy, Moses Kotane and Mrs. J. Daboy. When passing the House of Parliament, the demonstration took up the cry "Down with Pass Laws — we want Freedom." The noise from the procession penetrated into both Houses of Parliament and many Members of Parliament were out to watch it.

Chanting the African National anthem, "Nkomo Sikelele i Afrika," the procession turned down Beach Road back to the parade, where the crowd gathered round the platform and addressed by members of the deputation, passed resolutions protesting against the wrongfulness of the existing Pass Laws and the refusal of Prime Minister to meet the deputation.

INTERVIEW

Immediately after their arrival in Capetown on Saturday, the deputation contacted the Parliamentarian representing the Africans and asked them to arrange an interview with the Acting Prime Minister. On Monday they were told that the Acting Prime Minister, being very busy, was unable to meet them; but that he could meet them in Pretoria, provided he had received their con-

he had asked the Minister of Native Affairs to see the deputation. Further representations were made with the same result.

MAJOR VAN DER BYL

"Meanwhile, members of the deputation had also been in contact with the Secretary for Native Affairs, who had also explained the Acting Prime Minister's inability for the reasons stated. The Council had asked to see the Minister of Native Affairs and Justice with Mr. Hertzog, but owing to pressure of Parliamentary duties, it was arranged that the two first-named Ministers should meet the deputation separately, and an interview with Major Van der Byl was arranged for 6.45 p.m. on June 26th, notwithstanding the fact that the Minister had prior engagements which had to be cancelled.

The Minister was available at the appointed time, but the deputation failed to attend and gave no prior explanation to Major Van der Byl or his department. Later a letter was handed in to the effect that in a matter of such grave importance an audience would be satisfactory if not attended by the Supreme Head. This attitude is totally at variance with a statement made on the day before to the Secretary for Native Affairs that, if the Acting Prime Minister was unable to receive the deputation they would meet his min-

MORE 1425 ARRESTS

Four Africans have been summoned to appear in the Cape Town Magistrate's Court on Thursday, June 26th. They are Messrs. Arthur Daboy, David Langa, Louis Phillips and Mr. Zuma.

It is alleged that they contravened Regulation 12B of the War Emergency Regulations, by holding a meeting of the Communist Party at Capetown, attended by more than twenty persons, on gold-protected land.

them to arrange the interview. On Monday the deputation was informed by them that the Acting Prime Minister, owing to his Parliamentary duties, was unable to see the deputation in Cape Town but was willing to meet them in Pretoria.

After discussing the situation the deputation decided to directly contact the Acting Prime Minister by a letter pointing out the importance of the Pass-Law question and the decision of the National Anti-Pass Conference. To this request the Acting Prime Minister replied that he was too busy, but said that the Deputation could meet the Minister for Native Affairs.

On the point made by the Secretary of Information that the Deputation had agreed to meet the Minister of Native Affairs, and if

- (a) The official organs of the Communist Party "Umsebenzi" (1930 to 1936) and "Inkululeko" (1940 to 1950).

WAR! **- AN -** **APPEAL**

TO ALL
NON-EUROPEAN PEOPLE
OF SOUTH AFRICA

You are being asked to support this War for:-
FREEDOM, JUSTICE, & DEMOCRACY.

Do you enjoy the fruits of FREEDOM, JUSTICE, & DEMOCRACY?

WHAT YOU DO ENJOY IS:-

PASS & POLL TAX LAWS.
SEGREGATION, WHITE LABOUR POLICY, LOW WAGES.
HIGH RENTS, POVERTY, UNEMPLOYMENT & VICIOUS
COLOUR BAR-LAWS.

European recruits receive	5/6 per day
White Internees receive	1/- " " (Beer allowance)

WHAT! YES!
YOU ARE EXPECTED TO GIVE YOUR LIFE FOR 1/- A DAY

We answered the call in 1914-1918, What was our reward?
Misery, Starvation, Unemployment.

THIS TIME WE MUST DEMAND:

THE RIGHT TO LIVE AS HUMAN BEINGS, THE
RIGHT TO WORK IN SKILLED TRADES; RECOGNITION OF AFRICAN TRADE UNIONS, THE ABOLITION OF WHITE
LABOUR POLICY, THE ABOLITION OF **ALL** ANTI-COLOUR LEGISLATION, FULL RIGHTS OF CITIZENSHIP.

DON'T SUPPORT THIS WAR:

Where the RICH get RICHER and the POOR get KILLED.

Issued by the Non-European United Front (Transvaal)

Saravathi Vilas Press

declaration of war by Britain and France, followed by the period of 'phoney war' in which the western imperialists continued their previous strategy of attempting to direct Nazi aggression eastwards, against the Soviet Union.

The state of war precipitated a breach within the so-called 'United' Party. The pro-British imperialist faction demanded South African participation with the Commonwealth; the pro-German Prime Minister, Hertzog, resisted. Following a showdown in Parliament, South Africa found herself once again involved in a European war, with Smuts as Prime Minister and Hertzog joining Malan in opposition. The 'non-European' majority of the population had never been consulted.

The revolutionary section of the liberation and working class movements, including the Communist Party, struck out strongly for an independent South African policy, opposed to both pro-imperialist sections of the ruling classes, British and German. 'Don't support this war — where the rich get richer and the poor get killed', declared the Transvaal Non-European United Front, in a leaflet for which its spokesman, Dr. Y.M. Dadoo, was subsequently sent to prison.

The international situation, and the character of the war, altered radically when the German fascists, believing themselves unconquerable after their 'blitzkrieg' (lightning war) tactics, aided by internal pro-Nazi elements, had defeated nearly all the countries of Europe, launched an all-out attack on the Soviet Union, in June 1941. '*Red Army will Smash Hitler!*' proclaimed the *Inkululeko* poster, at a time when Soviet forces were in retreat before the sudden onslaught, and South African, like the western 'experts' were confidently predicting their speedy collapse.

The Communist Party perceived that the decisive front of the entire war was that of Soviet-Nazi combat, whose outcome would determine the future of humanity. The oppressed people of our country, declared the Party, could not be indifferent while the socialist Soviet Union, fortress of workers' power and national liberation everywhere was locked in a titanic struggle for survival.

Accordingly, the Party launched a series of dynamic campaigns to transform South Africa's contribution to the Allied war effort in accordance with the potentialities, by mobilising all sections of the population and all resources of the country.

The country's armed forces were restricted to the white minority; African soldiers were not armed and were restricted to non-combatant

duties at vastly inferior rates of pay and conditions.

The enthusiasm of the masses could never be mobilised while they were subjected to pass laws and a host of discriminatory, colour-bar measures; their wages held down at starvation level while inflation caused soaring prices and profiteering was rife.

While the Smuts government purported to be fighting fascism abroad, it allowed openly pro-Nazi organisations to flourish in the country. The 'Ossewa Brandwag' (oxwagon guard) conducted sabotage operations designed to help the Hitlerites, and though some of its leaders (like Vorster, the present Prime Minister) were interned, the organisation as such was not outlawed. Nationalist Party leaders like Malan and Verwoerd were permitted to conduct public propaganda for the Nazis, and enter into private negotiations with them for the conversion of South Africa into a German satellite 'after the war'.

The Party demanded that African soldiers be armed and recruited on a basis equal to that of whites; that the pass system and political and industrial colour bars be scrapped; that the oppressed masses should enjoy democratic and citizenship rights in the country which they were called upon to defend.

The rousing campaigns of the Party around such slogans, as well as the inspiring defence of their socialist country by the Soviet people, brought the Party a greater measure of support among all sections of the people than ever before. The circulation of *The Guardian* and *Inkululeko* rose to record levels; party membership increased rapidly; Communists were elected to City Councils in Cape Town, Johannesburg and elsewhere. The growth of the Party's influence, and the leftward trend of the people, were reflected in such diverse phenomena as the growth in size and militancy of the trade union movement, notably of the African Mine Workers' Union, the development of the pioneer peasant movement, A. Maliba's Zoutpansberg Balemi (Ploughmen's) Association, the popularity of the servicemen's association the Springbok Legion in which members of the Party played leading parts.

A new spirit of militancy and unity among the people was reflected in the leadership of the national liberation movements. Progressives grouped around Dr. Naicker in Natal and Dr. Dadoo in the Transvaal challenged the entrenched compromising groups, based on the wealthy merchant class, which had long dominated the Indian Congress.

The ending of the war in Europe was hailed by one of the biggest

demonstrations ever seen in Johannesburg. Called jointly by the Transvaal leaderships of the A.N.C., the Indian Congress, the African People's Organisation and the Council of Non-European Trade Unions, it demanded that South Africa 'finish the job' by destroying the fascist movements within the country; and that the universal freedoms proclaimed by the leaders of the victorious United Nations be extended to embrace the masses of oppressed people.

The Miners' Strike of 1946

The 1944–1945 anti-pass campaign, headed by A.N.C. president Dr. A.B. Xuma, and with a leadership including Dadoo, Kotane, Marks and other militants, stirred and won the support of tens of thousands of Africans throughout the country.

The new militant leadership of the S.A. Indian Congress met the challenge of Smuts's new anti-Indian measure, the 'Ghetto Act' (June 1946) by a campaign of disciplined defiance in the course of which over 2,000 volunteers deliberately flouted segregatory laws and were sent to prison.

The most far-reaching expression of the post-war revolutionary tide was the great African miners' strike of August 1946. The African miners of the Witwatersrand constituted (and still do) the most intensively-exploited mass of workers in South Africa – and perhaps in any industrialised country. Crowded into wretchedly inadequate prison-like 'compounds', engaged for long hours on back-breaking and dangerous work, their grievances concentrated on the miserably low pay they received from the millionaires of the Chamber of Mines.

At its May 1946 conference, delegates representing a majority of the goldmines' 300,000 workers instructed the executive of the African Mine Workers' Union, headed by the president, J.B. Marks, to demand a minimum wage of 10s. a day, failing which strike action would be taken.

Following months of fruitless attempts to negotiate, to which the employers did not even deign to reply, tens of thousands of miners refused to work during the week of 12 to 19 August. This great industrial action, bringing a large part of the mining industry to a standstill, was suppressed with the utmost ferocity by the Smuts government, obedient servant of the Chamber of Mines. Armed police, gathered from all parts of the country, opened fire on the strikers and

charged them with bayonets. They drove the workers underground and when they staged sit-down strikes they drove them to the surface and forced them into submission at the point of the bayonet. Hundreds of African miners were killed and wounded.

Following the strike, the government vented its full fury on all who had stood by the African workers, upon the leaders of the African miners, and in particular on the Communist Party.

Immediately following the strike, police raids were conducted on the Party offices throughout the country and on the homes of leading members. Thousands of documents were seized, including the names of most of the members and supporters of the Party.

The General Secretary of the Party, Kotane, the Union president Marks, and members of the Johannesburg District Committee of the Party were among fifty-two arrested. These arrests were followed by that of the Central Executive Committee of the Party, who were charged, as a result of the miners' strike, with sedition in a trial which dragged on through various stages for two years until the charges were finally dropped in 1948.

The 1946 miners' strike had profound repercussions in South African history. In many ways it marked a turning point, both for the ruling classes and the oppressed people.

The Road to the Police State

The attack on the miners, their union and the Communist Party marked the beginning of an unbridled wave of reaction that swept the Smuts government from office (1948) to be replaced by the neo-Nazi Nationalist Party; that expressed itself in the Suppression of Communism Act (1950); the outlawing of the African National Congress (1960) and the lawless police terrorism that governs South Africa today.

On the other hand, profound lessons were drawn by the oppressed peoples of our country from the explosive events of August 1946. The Natives' Representative Council, a semi-elective but powerless State body intended to 'express African grievances', adjourned indefinitely in protest against the brutal suppression of the strike. This act was symbolic of a new spirit among the people, an end to the era of concession-begging, toothless protests and petitions. The rise of the African National Congress Youth League, led by revolutionary patriots of the calibre of Anton Lembede, Walter Sisulu, Oliver Tambo and

Nelson Mandela, heralded the opening of an era of militant mass struggles ahead.

The signing of the Dadoo-Xuma agreement in the Transvaal and subsequently the Xuma-Naicker-Dadoo agreement (March 1947) on behalf of the African National Congress and the Transvaal and Natal Indian Congresses, laid the firm foundations for the subsequent development of the fighting Congress Alliance, the national liberation front of our country.

The white electorate gave Malan's Nationalist Party a Parliamentary majority over Smuts's United Party in 1948 following a campaign of unprecedented white chauvinism and anti-Communist raving. From the outset, the new administration concentrated its hatred on the leading organ of revolutionary democratic and working class ideology and struggle: the Communist Party. A series of repressive measures was followed in 1950 by a law intended to outlaw and destroy that Party.

This law (the Suppression of Communism Act, 1950) declared the Communist Party to be an unlawful organisation and the advocacy of Marxism-Leninism to be a crime. All who had ever been members of the Party were 'listed' and liable to be barred from membership of trade unions and other organisations (even from Parliament) by Ministerial decree. They could be prohibited from attending gatherings, confined to any area and otherwise restricted without charge or trial.

Faced with this draconic measure, the Party revealed certain weaknesses which had developed in its ranks, as well as its indestructible virtues. A certain tendency towards legalistic illusions had penetrated the Party and sections of its leadership. Despite the open threats of the Nationalist Party to ban the C.P., no effective steps had been taken to prepare for underground existence and illegal work. A hastily-convened Central Committee meeting held in May 1950, when the terms of the new law became known, decided by majority vote and without consulting the membership to dissolve the Party. It was said that it was impossible in South African conditions to establish the Party underground, and the rank and file were unprepared to face the dangers and difficulties of so doing.

Both these arguments were disproved in the ensuing period, when the great majority of the Marxist-Leninists, including most of the leaders who had earlier voted for dissolution, showed their courage and devotion to their principles by successfully rebuilding the South

African Communist Party in conditions of illegality.

The Suppression of Communism Act encountered firm and unequivocal resistance from the masses. An emergency conference called by the ANC National Executive, and attended by the S.A.I.C., the A.P.O. and the Communist Party resolved to oppose the impending Act by all means, and decided on a national one-day protest general strike against this and other unjust laws.

The day set for this historic protest was June 26 – Freedom Day – and the strike evoked tremendous support from the working people. It was the first of the series of militant mass actions on a national scale from the Defiance Campaign to the Congress of the People. Those actions have passed into South African and world history. Followed by the Treason Trial, the peasant uprisings, and the other homeric struggles of the past twenty years, they not only dramatised the essence of the South African conflict for the people at home and abroad; they also were the crucible in which the cadres and the ideology of the South African revolution were forged.

Those years of illegality, years in which unbreakable bonds of unity were sealed in blood and sacrifice between Communist and non-Communist fighters for liberation, between the Party and the masses, and in which the Party rose to its greatest heights, will be the subject of our concluding article in this series.

BUILDERS of the Party



J B Marks

Chairman, South African Communist Party



Moses M Kotane
General Secretary, South African Communist Party



W H ('Bill') Andrews (1870-1950)

'Bill' Andrews, British-born engineering worker, was the 'father' of the Transvaal trade union movement. Foundation member and chairman of the South African Labour Party (1909); the International Socialist League (1915); and the Communist Party of South Africa (1921), of which he was the first secretary. Served as national chairman of the C.P.S.A. in the forties, and on the central Committee until the year of his death.



David Ivon Jones (1883-1924)

A founder of the International Socialist League and the first editor of its journal, *The International*, Welsh-born Ivon Jones' remarkable grasp of the significance of the Russian Revolution distinguished him not only in the South African but also the international Marxist movement. Sent to the Soviet Union, where he worked with Lenin in the Communist International, he died there in a tuberculosis sanatorium.



James La Guma (1884-1961)

Pioneer Coloured trade unionist and fighter for national liberation, Bloemfontein-born 'Jimfnie' La Guma formed the first African trade union (a branch of the Industrial and Commercial Workers' Union) in Namibia before coming to Cape Town to become ICU secretary. He joined the Communist Party in 1925 and was a member of its Central Committee in 1950. He was elected president of the South African Coloured People's Congress (1957).



Yusuf Mohamed Dadoo

An outstanding fighter for the building of the united front of national liberation – the Congress alliance, Dr Dadoo has served as leader of the Transvaal. Non-European United Front, President of the Transvaal Indian Congress and the South African Indian Congress. During the forties, Y M Dadoo was elected as Chairman of the Johannesburg District Committee and member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party.



Abram Fischer

Grandson of a former Prime Minister of the Orange Free State and an eminent lawyer, 'Bram' Fischer chose the arduous life of a revolutionary when he joined the Communist Party. He served as a member of the Johannesburg and Central Committees of the Party in the forties. Appointed to head the illegal work of the Party, he was living in disguise and underground when captured and sentenced to life imprisonment in 1966. Awarded Lenin Peace Prize (1967); Elected Vice-President, International Association of Democratic Lawyers, 1970.



Govan Mbeki

Outstanding author, journalist and revolutionary. Govan Mbeki is best known as the tireless champion of rural Africans. He joined the Communist Party after it had been declared illegal in 1950. A leading member of the African National Congress, he was arrested and sentenced to life imprisonment together with Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu and others in the famous 'Rivonia' trial. Govan Mbeki was awarded an International Journalists' Prize at the I.O.J. Conference at Havana in January 1971.

IMPACT OF THE DURBAN RIOTS

by Zakhele Zulu

In 1947, when I was still at school, we were instructed by our teacher to prepare for a Royal Visit which was to take place in March. Indeed we made our preparations. We practised a very nice song – which we never sang to the Royal Family.

A few days before the occasion, one of the girl students came to us in the boys' dormitory and started analysing the song, which turned out to be very reactionary. It praised the Royal Family, saying: '... it's a blessing for the Zulus to meet the King and Queen'.

The question posed by the girl was: what connects the Zulus with the King and Queen of England? I must say this had not been analysed by any of us, but we all decided that we were not going to sing for them. She then disclosed that the girls had also agreed not to.

The next thing was to tell our teacher, which we did two or three days before the big day. He took it lightly, but realised its seriousness when we refused to board a bus from school to the place where the Royal Family was to be met. The result was the expulsion of about 30 students; I was unfortunate, maybe, to be amongst them.

When I left school, I went to work in the docks. This was very popular work with the youth of those days. I earned 8s. a day. I was a keen amateur sportsman at the time, and went to the gymnasium in the evening.

Late in 1948, I lost my job, and went to stay with an Indian family in Durban whose elder son was my trainer and friend. In 1949, when the riots broke out in Durban, I didn't leave them but continued to stay with them. In fact I volunteered to try to save them from the rioters. This I did by locking the family in the house and I stayed on the verandah.

When the rioters came in sight, they marched straight to the house, saw me and shouted the slogan of the day "Zulu"! Without wasting time I told them that the Indian family had run away and they saw the padlock on the door.

I must explain that I did not save this family because I was a Communist. I was not at that time, but I loved them and their son who was my trainer.

Joined the Union

In that same year 1949, after the riots, I got a job in a textile factory, where I was persuaded by a friend to join the union. I was not an active participant in union affairs, but an active sportsman, where I thought my future lay. But my friend was not satisfied with my paying of trade union fees only; he wanted me to attend the meetings too. I did this when they were during the day, but couldn't attend those in the evening because sport was calling. There were possibilities of turning professional and adding more £-s-d to my meagre weekly wages.

At this stage I became acquainted with a man who was an official of the banned South African Communist Party. He got to know that I was a member of the union but wasn't participating actively and demanded to know the reason why. I answered him easily and without fear. He asked if I was a member of the African National Congress. The answer was a straightforward "No".

At this stage he started discussing the riots and analysing their causes. When he started, I was not interested in knowing the causes and such matters, but his explanation became more interesting and convincing. Later he started to explain to me how professional sportsmen were exploited by managers and promoters. I didn't accept this at the time, but I didn't disagree with him, simply because I liked him. Also it was not in keeping with the manner in which I had been brought up, of "Never argue with your elders". I have always considered this advice to be good, though it sometimes makes people think one is submissive and docile.

When we parted that night, he uttered words which I have never forgotten and never will.

"Look boy", he said. "People have always been victims of deception and self-deception, and they will always be until they learn

to seek out the interests of some class." I didn't know then that he was quoting Lenin, but still his words rang in my ears.

Later, I visited him and asked him to explain what he meant. This he did convincingly, and asked me to join the group of young boys and girls of my age he was teaching elementary politics. Everything he said explained to a letter the poverty of my family, which was deeply religious, and of my exploitation too as a factory worker.

The A. N. C.

This encouraged me to join the A.N.C. branch in my township. Before long I turned professional, and indeed collected a few pounds. I had six engagements as a pro and then quarrelled with the African manager who told me directly in his office: "Sign the contract boy and let me chew".

These words made me fed up, and I went away thinking of my friend's brilliant words: "People have always been victims of deception and self-deception". That day I had become a practical example of this "deception and self-deception". This was my last day as a professional sportsman.

I developed more interest in my friend and in what he was teaching us. Each day he appeared more humble and brilliant, and my conclusion was that the Communist Party must be teaching its members a certain humility and a different education from the one I had got during my schooldays – to praise the Royal Family.

The nature of the Party was reflected in him, and it dawned on me that if I joined the Party, I would be joining with serious people.

My interest in politics and the Communist Party in particular was disturbed when he told me one day that it was outlawed, but that I should continue to visit him and attend our classes, which I did.

Later this comrade left the A.N.C. and that was the end of our classes in the early 'fifties. However, his resignation from the A.N.C. did not disturb our friendship, neither did it disturb my personal liking for him.

Retirement Without Pension

Another incident worth mentioning here was the retirement of my father at the age of 75. My father had been employed by a Catholic boys' school for over 50 years, but when he was supposed to have been given a pension, he was not given even a brass farthing. This is no Communist propaganda, as some would think, but a fact.

This I also related to my friend, and he again gave me a very brilliant explanation, which was very convincing. This incident, together with many others which I have forgotten now, brought me nearer to the Party.

Long after my friend had left the ranks, I was approached by another friend and asked whether I would like to join the underground Communist Party. I found myself in a nice wholehearted smile. My dream had come true. I shall ever glorify this day of my joining the Party. Without it, I would have been forced to stray.

Analysing exactly what attracted me to the Communist Party, I find myself forced to look back to 1947, and to the 1949 riots, though I was not a politician then. But both these events were analysed by a Communist, giving them a class approach which contributed a great deal to my being a politician, even before I became a Party member. Marxism as a social science strengthened my convictions as a proletarian revolutionary. I shall always be grateful for the political guidance this comrade gave me and many others I am not in a position to mention now lest I expose them.

WHY I JOINED THE COMMUNIST PARTY – 2

PEOPLE CAN CHANGE

by Diana Wood

Everything was mine by right. I never questioned it. A room of my own. A university education. Tickets to concerts. Meals in restaurants. Money to buy clothes and books.

The money 'arrived' in my parents' bank account. It 'arrived' from two sources: the first, a plantation, managed by an agent, and worked by black people; the second, dividends from shares in various companies. The two sources were connected. The profits from the first were so considerable that some of them could be invested in the second.

That was how things were during my growing years, and it never seemed strange to me. My grandfather, I was told, had 'built up' the plantation 'alone'. He had been carrying the white man's burden, toiling in a 'terrible' climate, which, in those days, had also bred 'terrible' diseases.

I read a lot. I read, amongst others, Dickens, Tolstoy and E.M. Forster. I admired their characterization, their 'atmosphere', their style. But it never occurred to me to make any connection between the lives of the people they described – the urban poor, the peasants, the colonized – and the sources of my own privileged existence.

The Cold War

I grew up in the depths of the Cold War. The 1950s coincided with my twenties. I moved without difficulty from the conservatism of my parents, which seemed to me 'old-fashioned', especially as regarded 'the colour question', to the world of university liberal intellectuals. We talked a lot about 'life' (seen in terms of vague speculations about its meaning, and of a cult of personal relationships) as we lay on white sand on whites-only beaches, or sat drinking on the large verandas of whites-only hotels.

On one subject, my parents and my new companions were in perfect accord, though the terms in which they expressed their opinions varied in degree of sophistication: *that subject was Communism*. My parents described Communists as 'thieves'; my intellectual friends — looking up from the pages of *Encounter* — described them as 'enemies of freedom'. My parents embarrassed me by their crudeness. I did not reflect that 'thieves' (of property and capital, of the right to exploit, and to maintain privilege) might be identical with 'enemies of freedom' (freedom to acquire property and capital, to exploit, and to maintain privilege).

Readers of the above account might comment that the 'life' which it describes appears to have been lived in a political vacuum. They would be right. *It was*. A modern folksong asks the question: 'How many times can a man turn his head, and pretend that he just doesn't see?' The answer to this question, in my case, would have to be: 'All the time — for thirty years'.

Police Terror

For during that decade of the fifties in which I came to 'maturity' in South Africa, the reign of police terror and administrative oppression was being consolidated step by step, year by year. What rights the people possessed were being stripped from them, one by one, and the wrongs under which they had always suffered were being crushingly multiplied. In fact, those were the years of the building of Fascism, and I now recognize that in my tight little, white little world, I was wilfully blind to it. I am reminded of the countless Germans who said they 'didn't realise what was happening' or 'there was nothing they could do about it' during the years when Hitler was entrenching his power. They *did* know. They *were* guilty. And in South Africa, so was I.

The Sharpeville massacre in 1960, and the wave of arrests which followed it, did penetrate through my mental fog, forced me to realise something of the realities of the South African situation. Suddenly, also I began to realise something of the selfishness and emptiness of my own life: doing a well-paid, useless job by day, pointlessly relaxing from it in the evenings. I remember saying to a friend of mine, a university lecturer, 'Of course we are living on the backs of the Africans' — and he raising his eyebrows, and replying, with a smile, 'That's an oversimplification'.

Then something very fortunate happened to me. For personal reasons, I moved from the South African city where I had been living for many years, to another one. Here, as a result of a chance meeting with someone I had known years before, I was introduced to a circle of people who belonged to the Liberation Movement, and who held Marxist views.

These people impressed me deeply, in two ways. First, and immediately, by the quality of their lives. All of them had endured persecution for many years: banning, police surveillance and searches, arrests and imprisonment. They were prepared to sacrifice everything for their convictions. They were deeply loyal, immensely hard-working. For the first time, I saw the meaning of the word, 'solidarity'. And, from the warmth and sincerity with which these people treated me, their quality of human welcome, for the first time I began to see the meaning of the word, 'comrade' — a word that was guaranteed to make my liberal friends roar with patronizing laughter.

The second thing which impressed me about them, more gradually, was their view of life. Possessing all the prejudices against Communism which my background had implanted and fed in me, I found it hard to believe that such 'nice people' could be Marxists. I argued with them endlessly, and they were very patient. They met my arguments with analyses which explored the roots and the causes of things — an approach a world away from the woolly speculations I had been accustomed, in the past, to call discussions. What struck me most was the depth and the coherence of their explanations of the South African situation — not just the 'dreadful wrongs' of apartheid, but its social whys and wherefores.

People Can Change

Can people change? I believe that they can. I believe that I was offered — through a most fortunate situation — the chance and the help to do so. I was encouraged to become politically active, and also to study Marxist literature, and to take part in discussions. I shall never cease to be grateful that, despite my unsatisfactory background and non-existent previous political activity, I was invited, after two years, to join the Communist Party.

'Freedom', Engels said, 'is the recognition of necessity'. And I believe that, when I became a Communist, I became free for the first time, because for the first time, my life was rooted in necessity, in reality.

That was seven years ago. And during an intervening period of imprisonment, I found myself still able to feel, in that sense, free. In the same way, when I was in solitary confinement, I felt that I was not alone. Because I was a Communist. Because I was a member of the Party which all over the world is leading the struggle for Freedom.

Being a Communist is the best thing that has happened in my life, and will continue to be so.

LABOUR MONTHLY

Founded 1921

Editor : R. Palme Dutt

A Marxist commentary on political events in the cause of national liberation and socialism, now in its 50th year.

20 pence monthly — £1. 20 half-yearly subscription — £2. 40 yearly.

(Students : £2. 20 yearly — £1. 10 half-yearly.)

— all post free (surface mail) from — — —

**DEPARTMENT AC,
134 Ballards Lane
London N3 2PD
England**

10 YEARS OF THE REPUBLIC

by Phineas Malinga

On 31st May 1961, the Union of South Africa became the Republic of South Africa. In itself, the constitutional change was one of the most trivial that history records. Reacting shrewdly to the smallness of their majority in the Whites-only referendum, the Nationalists did everything to appease the fears of the English-speaking Whites. Nothing was heard of the notorious Republican Constitution of the 40's. Gone was the idea of reproducing the constitution of a nineteenth-century Boer Republic. The Governor General changed his name to "State President", but his functions remained exactly the same. The British-made constitution of 1910 was in substance unaltered. Not a Minister, not an official lost his job. Prosecutions launched in the name of the Queen continued in the name of the State, conducted by the same prosecutors, before the same judges or magistrates, ending in the dispatch of the accused to the same gaols or the same gallows.

Externally, the British Government reciprocated Verwoerd's "moderation". South Africa continued to enjoy Commonwealth preferences. South African citizens could still become naturalised in Britain more easily than Americans or Frenchmen. Nothing was changed if the two governments could possibly get away with leaving it unchanged.

A New Era

Yet, the era of the Republic has been a new and decisively different era in South African history. That fact results, not from the constitutional events of May 1961, but from other things which happened about that time.

The first was the Emergency of 1960 and the banning of the A.N.C. In March 1960, all known activists in the liberation movement were arrested and detained without trial, and soon afterwards the African

National Congress was declared an "unlawful organisation" in terms of the Suppression of Communism Act. Although the Emergency was lifted later in the year and the detainees were for the time being released, things never returned to what had been normal before March 1960. After nearly fifty years' existence as a legal organisation, the premier liberation movement was now underground. The rules of bourgeois-democratic legality (never more than partially observed in South Africa) had now been decisively breached. The arrests of 1960 were the precursors of a whole series of arbitrary exercises of state power. From this point onwards, South African fascism was fighting with no holds barred.

The second decisive event came a few months after the proclamation of the Republic. It was the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the launching, on 16th December 1961, of the sabotage campaign which was the first phase of the people's armed struggle. Armed struggle was not, of course, something entirely new to South Africa. On the contrary, the African people had defended themselves with arms in their hands from the eighteenth century to the first decade of the twentieth. Nevertheless, the struggle which began in 1961 had two new features. Firstly, the unity of all the oppressed groups – the feature which was tragically absent from the struggles of earlier times – was the foundation on which the actions of the 1960's were built. Secondly, the earlier armed struggles had been those of peasant communities fighting to preserve their traditional way of life. Now, the people of an industrial society, having already drawn up their plan for a new way of life, were resorting to armed force as the only way open to them for translating that plan into reality.

This, then, has been the central theme of the era of the Republic. It has been the era in which the centuries-old struggle between the South African People and the imperialists moved to its final climax: unlimited, lawless repression on the part of the regime and the mounting tide of armed revolution on the part of the people. All other aspects of South African history during the period derive their significance purely from their interaction with this central theme.

As was only to be expected in such a struggle, the decade has been one of fluctuating fortunes. It began with a period of brilliant triumphs for the liberation movement, which succeeded simultaneously in carrying the greater part of its organisation underground, and building

a brand new military wing. It was able to launch both a mass protest such as the general strike of May 1961 and the specialised activity of industrial sabotage from December onwards. While conducting the struggle on this high level inside the country, the movement could tackle the additional task of setting up an external mission. The external mission, though staffed by a mere handful of activists, was able to do an excellent diplomatic job in presenting the movement's case to the world, while at the same time organising in conditions of complete security and secrecy the movement of cadres to receive necessary military training and form new units of Umkhonto. The titanic achievements of Mandela, Sisulu, Tambo and their thousands of comrades at every level of the organisation finally disposed of any doubts whether the A.N.C. possessed the talents needed to govern an advanced industrial country.

Government Reaction

They also disposed of the Government's last inhibitions about the methods it was prepared to use. The banning of the A.N.C. had, of course, been a measure dictated by the Government's fears. Those fears were redoubled by the A.N.C.'s reply to banning. Within months of its birth, the racist Republic began to fight for its life like a cornered and wounded carnivore.

The country which had found conscription unnecessary in World War II now imposed conscription. Military expenditure escalated by leaps and bounds, until World War II levels were left far behind. On the police front, what had been a rather incompetent imitation of the British "Special Branch" was transformed into a very adequate imitation of a fascist or Tsarist political police. The numbers of the secret police are, of course, secret. We can only guess at the extent of their growth from such clues as the ranks of commanding officers. Posts which in the middle 50's had been occupied by majors were, by the middle 60's, occupied by brigadiers. This would seem to suggest something like a tenfold increase. The task of infiltrating the liberation movement, in the past entrusted to untrained buffoons who exposed themselves in a matter of days, now became a job for university graduates.

Most important of all, the police were given, on a permanent basis

power to arrest without trial and to interrogate without limits.

Was it inevitable that this immensely increased effort should have brought the Government some success? Probably it was, though the movement might have withstood the counterattack better if it had appreciated the scale of the Government's effort earlier.

In the result, the middle 60's were a grim period. The Rivonia arrests were followed by a series of blows against the underground organisation in different centres. The losses were so severe that the movement in South Africa was forced to suspend most activities other than those of regrouping and reconstructing its own organisation. Meanwhile, the external mission had to take over a number of vital tasks, at the same time absorbing into its organisational structure a number of cadres whose departure from South Africa had been unplanned and involuntary.

Fraternal Ties

But even these years were not without their achievements and victories. Among the most important was the cementing of a fraternal alliance of liberation movements covering the whole of imperialist-ruled southern Africa. Here is something of incalculable value, not only for the furthering of the struggle, but also for the post-liberation era. Just as Eastern Europe benefits to this day from the bonds of solidarity forged in that region's most terrible hours of suffering, so southern Africa will reap the fruits of to-day's alliances long after the common enemy has been disposed of.

The Morogoro Conference was the signal that the period of recovery and reconstruction was over. Public Congress activity inside South Africa, already resumed before the Conference, has been growing rapidly since. The fully trained and equipped guerilla units of Umkhonto, already tried in battle before the Conference, now stand ready for bigger battles nearer home. New organs of leadership are now in full working order. A further phase of the struggle is opening, and it is a phase in which the liberation forces will again be on the offensive. For a full appreciation of the forces which stand opposed to each other in the present phase, we must turn to an examination of some of the subsidiary themes of the Republican era. Four stand out as worthy of discussion: white politics, the economy, international relations and Bantustans.

White Politics

High on the list of benefits which the Nationalist Party claimed would flow from a Republic was white unity. The Republic would end the "dual loyalty" of the English-speaking section, remedy the grievances of the Afrikaners and thus bury the Anglo-Afrikaner feud.

"And it worked!" the Nationalists now triumphantly proclaim. Perhaps it did, a little; but what mainly caused the whites to get together in the Republican era was their awareness that their privileges were in danger of abolition by the liberation movement.

Whatever the cause, the effect was real enough. Though Afrikaners and English may still dislike each other, the antagonism between them is no longer a serious factor in South African politics. The Nationalist Party (for many years after its coming to power a minority party even among the whites) steadily increased its support among all white groups during the 60's. The United Party grew increasingly frantic in its search for a way of arresting its decline and began to pose absurdly as being more anti-African than the Nationalists. The Progressive Party stagnated and the Liberal Party disappeared. It seemed, towards the end of the decade, that with only rare, individual exceptions, the white population had decided to stand and fight with the regime.

But even here there are now signs of a turning of the tide. First, Cape Town University students demonstrated against the refusal to appoint an African lecturer. Next, and much more significantly, Witwatersrand University students demonstrated against the repression of the liberation movement. Then a general election produced, for the first time in more than twenty years, a loss of ground by the Nationalists. Now, whites are increasingly pressing for a relaxation of apartheid in sport.

It does not add up to very much yet. It would certainly be premature to assume that any substantial number of whites will refuse to fight for the Government when the time comes for them to do so. Nevertheless, the *trend* has changed. The movement of affairs is now away from white unity, whereas only a few years ago it was towards white unity.

The Economy

The proudest of the Republic's achievements are in the economic field. In 1961, the economic omens seemed far from favourable. The

Emergency of 1960 had led to a sagging of capitalist confidence and a withdrawal of significant amounts of foreign capital. The same reaction greeted the republican referendum result and the subsequent withdrawal of South Africa from the British Commonwealth. This trend continued into 1962, when the net capital outflow was \$168 million, equivalent to 10½% of gross domestic investment. The general level of economic activity was low and white emigration slightly exceeded immigration.

The factor which triggered off economic recovery was the same in Republican South Africa as in Nazi Germany – vastly increased military expenditure. In each case, this factor operated in two ways. Firstly, any large increase in government expenditure works to counteract the in-built tendency of the capitalist system towards cyclical depression. But increased government expenditure does not cure balance of payments problems. Indeed, it may aggravate them and may therefore be ruled out by them. Hence the importance of the second factor, which was the increased confidence engendered in the minds of international finance capitalists by evidence that Verwoerd (or Hitler, as the case may be) was determined to “fight communism”.

From 1964 onwards internal economic growth and the inflow of foreign capital interacted to produce an impressive boom. Over the whole decade, the growth of the South African economy has averaged 6% per annum, and the growth of the manufacturing sector 7.4% per annum. Capital inflow reached a peak in 1968 of \$624 million, representing almost one-fifth of net domestic investment. *

This rapid economic expansion has naturally involved problems. In particular, it has caused a shortage of skilled labour and has faced the authorities with a continuing dilemma as to the question whether racial job restrictions ought to be relaxed, and if so, to what extent. Nevertheless, there is no evidence to support the well-known liberal thesis that economic expansion will in itself destroy apartheid. In fact, the fundamental structure of apartheid – the white monopoly of political power, the maldistribution of land, the correlation of race and

*Statistics in these paragraphs are taken from “Foreign Investment in the Republic of South Africa”, a publication of the UN Unit on apartheid, reference number ST/PSCA/SER.A/11.

class distinctions — has been untouched by the economic expansion. In the long run, of course it is true that apartheid is incompatible with an industrial economy, but that is only another way of saying that revolution must come. There is not the slightest sign that the prospects for peaceful, evolutionary change have improved. On the contrary, economic success has bolstered up the regime and prolonged its ability to resist change.

But on this point, too, there are signs that things are no longer moving in the same direction as in the 60's *. After an accumulation of warning signals throughout 1970, the Government was forced to the unwelcome step of introducing an "Austerity Budget" for its tenth anniversary year. It is too soon to say whether a major crisis is imminent, but it is clear that South Africa can no longer cruise to economic success with the ease of a few years ago. There is an urgent need for new export markets if crisis is to be averted, and an ominous possibility is that imperialist adventure will become an economic necessity within the next year or two.

Foreign Affairs

Apartheid is a system so repellent that even reactionary people outside South Africa are compelled to express dislike for it. The almost unanimous resolutions passed against apartheid at the United Nations give an accurate picture of world opinion on the subject. If the actions of all the governments of the world were in line with this opinion, it would be possible to organise international pressure on such a scale that the struggle would be comparatively short and easy.

It has been, and still is, the aim of the liberation movement and the solidarity movements throughout the world, to bring the whole world into an anti-apartheid alliance. The experience of the last decade shows, however, that the governments of the imperialist camp have no intention of joining such an alliance. They may deprecate some of the actions of the South African Government; they may think that a policy of a more neo-colonial type would be wiser; but in the last resort they are for the regime and against the liberation movement. This is no temporary

* See the note "S.A. Economic Miracle Over?" in *African Communist* No.45, p.8.

accident of politics. It follows from the way in which South Africa always has been an integral part of the world structure of imperialism, and has over the last decade won a considerably more senior and important place in that structure.

In Western Europe and North America, therefore, we have governments basically committed to the wrong side, yet vulnerable to pressure because they are acting contrary to the wishes of their own peoples. In the result, it has been possible for such solidarity organisations as the Anti Apartheid Movement to produce policy shifts of a kind which are not unimportant. The leading example is the decision of the British Government in 1964 to implement the UN arms embargo. Unfortunately, that gain has not proved to be permanent.

So far as the socialist camp is concerned, there has never been any question about its solidarity with the liberation movement, and that solidarity has been of incalculable value. Some non-aligned countries, notably Tanzania, Zambia and Algeria, have also been steady and effective supporters of the struggle.

The performance of Africa as a whole, however, has been among the disappointments of the decade. To a far greater extent than most people would have thought possible in 1961, Africa in 1971 is uncertain territory for our purposes. Malawi and Lesotho rank with Portugal as open supporters of the South African regime at international meetings. The role of several other African states, notably Ghana and the Ivory Coast, has become increasingly ambiguous in recent months.

The reason for these disappointments is perfectly plain. They do not reflect any lack of sympathy for the liberation struggle on the part of African peoples. They reflect the strength which imperialism still possesses in Africa. In the cases of Malawi and Lesotho, it is South Africa's own imperial power which plays the decisive role. In the other cases, African governments are responding in varying degrees to French and British pressure. France, in particular, has undoubtedly launched a direct diplomatic counterattack, following the admirable attempt of President Kaunda to pressurise France on the arms issue. The states of the British Commonwealth find themselves facing a far more formidable antagonist since the change of government in Britain. Whether the Uganda coup was a lucky bonus for Heath's offensive, or a part of that offensive, we do not yet know for certain. But there is reason to fear

This is the one sphere in which we do not yet perceive a turning of the tide.

But that is only to be expected. We must remember that a truly principled foreign policy is the exception, not the rule, in the world of to-day. For the average small, non-socialist country, the main object of foreign policy is to be on the winning side. As soon as events within South Africa begin to make it plain that Vorster's side is not the winning side, the list of his foreign friends will once again dwindle to include only that small band of imperialist governments which have a direct interest in apartheid.

We must also remember that the liberation of Africa is not complete, even north of the Zambesi, and the fight for Africa is, more than ever before, one fight. If in 1960 it seemed clear that the North was ahead of the South and was destined to come to the rescue of the South, it is worth calling to mind that in 1950, the reverse looked nearer to the truth. At that time, there was scarcely a country in Africa which had a liberation movement as mature and powerful as that of South Africa. The synthesis at which we arrive in 1971 is perhaps something like this: no part of Africa will be wholly free until the whole of Africa is free. In the meantime, progressives all over Africa need one another's help, but none is entitled to expect that the efforts of others will render his own efforts unnecessary.

Bantustans

It is not possible in the present article to attempt a full analysis of the peasants' struggle and the influence upon it of the Bantustan policy. However, no review of the Republican decade would be complete without a reference to that aspect. Though the concept of Bantustans formed part of Nationalist policy from 1948, and the imposition of "Bantu Authorities" was a fruitful source of conflict in the 50's, it has only been in the last ten years that a serious attempt has been made to pretend that statehood was actually being offered to the former "Reserves".

The basic attitude of the liberation movement to this attempt can be shortly stated. It is a fraud. The Bantustans are being offered nothing more than local government functions, comparable to those of a provincial council. Even if they were being offered more, the problems

of the rest of the country would remain untouched. There is not the slightest possibility that the people will ever accept Bantustans as a meaningful reform or a solution to anything.

Nevertheless, the Government's experiment continues. It is not unimportant and it contains dangers both for the people and for the Government. The danger for the people is that their attention, and the energies of some of their potential leaders, will successfully be diverted into Bantustan politics. The danger for the Government is that its puppets will begin to take themselves seriously and to make embarrassing demands. Some such demands are being made in the Transkei at the present moment, but it is not clear how seriously they are likely to be pressed. However, the emergence of these demands fits in with the general picture of South Africa in 1971 as a country where things are beginning to move again. The liberation movement will have to watch events in the Bantustans carefully and be ready to intervene with the utmost tactical flexibility.

Conclusion

The Republican decade has been a bitter one for the people of South Africa. They had nothing to celebrate on May 31st. Yet they have cause to be thankful that they and their liberation movement have survived, are still fighting and are even in a position to move on to the offensive.

As for the fascists, let them celebrate. They are never likely to have another anniversary at which things will seem as good for them as they now do.

24TH CONGRESS of the CPSU

**By a member of the delegation
of the South African Communist
Party**

The 24th Congress of the CPSU which took place in the Palace of the Congresses in the Kremlin, Moscow, from the 30th March to the 8th April 1971 was a momentous event of far-reaching significance, not only for the Soviet peoples engaged in the herculean task of the construction of Communism, but indeed for the whole of mankind struggling against the forces of reaction, war and exploitation and for peace, national independence and socialism.

The Congress met in an atmosphere of great enthusiasm and unity. A calm confidence in the fulfilment of the tasks that lay ahead was writ large on the faces of the delegates who had gathered there from the four corners of the multi-national Soviet Union. One was struck by the spirit of unity around the Party and its Central Committee which permeated the Hall and fascinated by the panorama of colour presented by the brilliant hues of the garbs of the delegates of the various nationalities from the many Republics and regions of the vast Soviet land. For a participant from abroad, it was a rare and exhilarating experience, testimony to the steadfast loyalty of the CPSU to the principle of proletarian internationalism.

The report of the Credentials Commission indicated that the Congress was attended by 4,949 delegates representing more than 14 million Soviet communists. They were elected by secret ballot by 1,600,000 delegates of the Party organisation at Republic, territorial, regional and district conferences throughout the country. The workers were represented by 1,195 delegates and the agriculture workers by 870 delegates. There were 1,205 party functionaries. Also among the

delegates were academicians, scientists, cultural figures, educational workers, artists, doctors, some of those carrying out the space programme, Red Army and Navy men, as well as deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, and the Supreme Soviets of Union and autonomous republics. The 1,204 women accounted for 24.3 per cent of all the delegates. 42 per cent of the delegates were in the age group from 41 to 50, 32 per cent were under 40 and 26 per cent over 50. 58 per cent of the congress delegates have had a higher education.

The multi-national character of the Soviet State was reflected by the fact that those taking part were communists of 61 nationalities and peoples of the USSR.

Fraternal Delegations

The importance of the 24th Congress for the socialist community and for progressive mankind in facing major problems of the contemporary world was fully manifested by the presence of leaders of all the socialist countries (with the sole exception of the People's Republic of China and Albania) and of 102 delegations of communist, national democratic and left socialist parties from 91 countries. African representation included the ruling parties of the UAR, Sudan, Somalia, Guinea, Congo-Brazzaville, Tanzania, the Communist Parties of South Africa, Sudan, Tunisia, PIA of Senegal. The liberation movements of Southern Africa were represented by Amilcar Cabral (PAIGC), Dr. Neto (MPLA), Oliver Tambo (ANC), Samora Machel (FRELIMO).

The role of the Congress was aptly summed up by Rodny Arismendi, the first secretary of the CC of the Communist Party of Uruguay, in his message of fraternal greetings in which he said: "The Soviet Union, the socialist camp, the working-class and liberation movement enter the new higher stage of their historical activity, and your Congress will exert a strong influence on this process." This was also emphasised in the message of the South African Communist Party delivered by J B Marks: "The responsibility of your Congress is a weighty one. The improvement of the economic and cultural well-being of the Soviet people is of great international significance in demonstrating the superiority of the planned, socialist economy. The acceleration of Soviet technological and scientific progress as well as defence capacity is of immense importance to the forces of peace and liberation."

The international aid and support rendered by the Soviet Union to the revolutionary and national liberation movements were highly assessed by the spokesmen of fraternal delegations who conveyed their greetings from the rostrum of the Congress. O Dorticos, member of the Political Bureau and Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba, for example, stated in his speech:— “In many respects Cuba owes its socialist gains to the support given by the Soviet Union, to its aid in developing Cuba’s economy and strengthening its defence potential. This aid enabled Cuba to fight resolutely and indefatigably against the mighty imperialist country located only some 90 miles away from us.”

Abou El-Nour, member of the Supreme Executive Committee and General Secretary of the UAR Arab Socialist Union, pointed out that the USSR is the greatest power in the struggle for freedom, an important and stable prop of the people’s liberation and progressive movements. “Were it not for its steady, reliable and effective aid to these peoples, mankind would have been the witness today of the most despicable and boundlessly cruel coercion on the part of the colonialists and imperialists.”

The deep appreciation of the heroic Vietnamese people, who are fearlessly confronting and rebuffing the imperialist aggressors, for the fraternal support and massive material assistance rendered them by the CPSU and the Soviet people was expressed by Le Duan, the first secretary of the Working People’s Party of Vietnam, and Nguyen Van Hieu, a presidium member of the Central Committee of the National Front for the Liberation of South Vietnam.

Comrade Le Duan heartily thanked the CPSU Central Committee, the Soviet Government and all the Soviet people for the great, effective and valuable assistance which the Soviet Union, following the principles of proletarian internationalism, renders the Vietnamese people in their struggle against the US aggression, for saving the homeland and in building socialism.

In his speech, Nguyen Van Hieu said: “The ties of brotherhood and militant friendship are growing stronger and are increasingly binding the Vietnamese people with the Soviet people, and we shall spare no effort in order that our friendship and solidarity grow ever stronger from day to day. We express our deep gratitude to the CPSU, the government and people of the Soviet Union for their sympathy and

support, for the great, valuable and effective help in the struggle against the aggression of the US imperialists."

Speaking for the fighting peoples of South and Southern Africa, Oliver Tambo, acting President General of the African National Congress of South Africa, said: "The invitation extended to us to attend the 24th Congress reflects the constantly growing friendship between the Soviet people and our people and is a confirmation of the internationalist policy of the CPSU which gives us the practical material assistance and support needed in our struggle."

Amilcar Cabral, General Secretary of the PAIGC, conveying the greetings of the freedom fighters of Guinea-Bissau said: "Your confidence in victory is even greater since the CPSU has confirmed its resolve to render moral, political and material support to the liberation movements. This means that the Soviet Union, as in the past, will be firmly on the side of our people, exposing the Portuguese colonialists, their criminal colonial war, their accomplices and helping our Party develop the victorious struggle. We shall not be belittling the importance of African solidarity and the solidarity of other anti-colonialist forces in the world, if we say openly that the greatest assistance to our struggle comes precisely from the Soviet Union."

Two Reports

The 24th Congress dealt with two main reports, one, the report of the Central Committee of the CPSU delivered by Leonid Brezhnev, General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in a 5½ hour long speech and second, the draft Directives for the Five-Year Economic Development Plan of the USSR for 1971-1975 which was outlined by Alexei Kosygin, Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The Report of the Central Committee reviewed the work of the CC and the whole of the Party in the five-year period between the 23rd and the 24th Congresses, gave a Marxist-Leninist analysis and assessment of international developments and Soviet foreign policy, looked into the question of the strengthening and extending of the world socialist community and dealt with the achievements and the problems which had arisen in the course of the implementation of the 8th five-year plan. It also dealt with the growth of the CPSU and the enhancement of its leading role in the whole life of Soviet society, as well as

with some ideological problems of the international communist movement.

The Report is undoubtedly an important and invaluable Leninist document of this decade and fully merits a close study by socialists and revolutionaries everywhere.

After a full and free discussion of the various aspects of the Report by delegates from all walks of life, coal miners, industrial and agricultural workers, milk-maids and weavers, scientists and writers, academicians and ministers of state and secretaries of republic and territorial Party organisations, a resolution approving the Report was unanimously adopted by the Congress. The resolution underlined the main features of the Report.

On the World Socialist System: The resolution noted that its further cohesion and development has further consolidated its position as the decisive anti-imperialist force and as the bulwark of peace and social progress. The line of the states of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance towards inter-state specialisation and co-operation of production, close co-ordination of national economic integration is an expression of the objective requirements of the development of world socialism.

On Soviet-Chinese Relations: In a situation in which the Chinese leaders came out with their own specific ideological-political platform, which is incompatible with Leninism, and which is designed for struggle against the socialist countries and a split of the international communist and the whole anti-imperialist movement, the CPSU has taken the only correct stand — a stand of consistently defending the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the utmost strengthening of the unity of the world communist movement. The Congress resolutely rejects the slanderous inventions of Chinese propaganda concerning the policy of the Soviet Party and the state. At the same time, CPSU stands for normalisation of relations between the USSR and the PRC, and the restoration of good-neighbourliness and friendship between the Soviet and Chinese peoples.

On Internationalist Assistance to the Czechoslovak People: The Congress fully approves the activity of the CPSU in extending, jointly with the fraternal countries, internationalist assistance to the Czechoslovak people in defending the gains of socialism against internal counter-revolution and imperialist reaction. The experience of the

events in Czechoslovakia was a fresh reminder of the need to enhance vigilance in the face of the schemes of imperialism and its agents in the countries of the socialist community, of the importance of consistently fighting Right-wing opportunism, which on the pretext of "improving" socialism seeks to kill the revolutionary essence of Marxism-Leninism and paves the way for penetration by bourgeois ideology.

On Imperialism: For the pursuit of their aggressive policy in the international arena and the strengthening of their class domination in their countries, the imperialists have been using the growth of state-monopoly forms of capitalism, inter-state integration, and scientific and technical achievements. Reactionary nature and aggressive aspirations are most pronounced in the policy of US imperialism, which presents the greatest danger to the independence of peoples and world peace, and is the main obstacle in the way of social progress. What is especially characteristic of the USA is its aggressive foreign policy, and its inflation of militarism, which carries within it the danger of a world war. The forces of war and aggression are also active in the other imperialist countries.

The general crisis of capitalism continues to deepen. State-monopoly development results in an aggravation of all contradictions of capitalism and in a rise of the anti-monopoly struggle. The leading force in this struggle is the working class, which is increasingly becoming the centre of attraction for all sections of the population.

At the present stage, with socialism firmly established on a sizable part of the globe, with forces intent on a revolutionary remaking of society growing within the capitalist states, with the struggle for national liberation in many countries developing into a struggle against the whole system of exploitation and oppression, the fact that imperialism has no historical prospects becomes even more obvious.

On National Liberation Struggle: The struggle for national liberation in many countries has in practice begun to develop into a struggle against the exploitive relations, both feudal and capitalist. The countries which have taken the non-capitalist path of development, that is, which have taken the long-term line of building socialist society, are the advance contingent of the present-day national liberation movement.

The CPSU is invariably true to the Leninist principle of solidarity with the peoples fighting for national liberation and social emancipation. As in the past, the fighters against the remaining colonial

regimes can expect to have our full support. The Congress attaches special importance to extending co-operation with all countries taking the socialist orientation.

On Indochina: The Congress fully approves the policy pursued by the Central Committee and the Soviet Government aimed at extending all-round support to the peoples of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia in their just fight against US aggressors and their accomplices, and supports the proposals made by the lawful representatives of the people of these countries, who have shown the only possible way for solving the problems existing in Indochina.

On the Middle East: The Congress instructed the CC CPSU and the Soviet Government to pursue the line of utmost support for the Arab peoples subjected to aggression by Israel, which is being encouraged by US imperialism, a line of developing close co-operation with the progressive Arab states. The Soviet Union will seek a just political settlement in the area, which implies withdrawal of the Israeli troops from occupied territories, exercise by each state of its right to an independent existence, and also satisfaction of the legitimate rights of the Arab people of Palestine.

On European Security: One of the key problems in strengthening world peace and easing tensions is to ensure European security on the basis of recognition of the territorial and political realities that have taken shape as a result of the Second World War. The Congress regarded the favourable development of relations between the USSR and France and the conclusion in 1970 of Soviet-West German and Polish-West German Treaties as important steps towards ensuring security in Europe. It further stated that a conference on security and co-operation in Europe should contribute to a further improvement of the European situation.

On the International Communist Movement: The resolution noted that the 1969 International Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow was an important stride forward in strengthening the Communists' international unity and consolidating all the anti-imperialist forces, and had made a major contribution to the development of a number of propositions of Marxist-Leninist theory. The CPSU regards the fulfilment of the programme of anti-imperialist struggle put forward by the Meeting as an important basis for strengthening unity of action by the Communist and Workers' Parties, and for

enhancing the role of the communist movement in the present-day world development.

On Party Organisation and Tasks in the Light of Social Changes: In the Resolution particular attention was paid to the readjustment of Party organisation at all levels as well as the style of work arising from the new tasks presented by the important social changes taking place in the process of communist construction and the phenomenal growth in the membership of the Party from 11 million to 14 million in the five years between the two Congresses. In the process of communist construction there was a great upsurge in the professional training, proficiency, education and culture of workers and peasants, working and living conditions in town and country were gradually drawing closer and the intelligentsia, especially the scientific and technical intelligentsia, was growing numerically. It became the principal task of the Party's social policy to uphold steadfastly the leading role of the working class, to strengthen the alliance of the working class and peasants, to bring together the workers, collective farmers and the intelligentsia, all Soviet people, in their common labour.

The Congress emphasised that the undeviating observance of the Leninist principle of democratic centralism must remain the immutable law of the Party's life, as the decisive condition of its strength and ability to act. Every Communist must be a conscious political fighter and worthily bear the lofty title of member of the Leninist Party always and everywhere.

It was also decided that from now onwards regular congresses of the CPSU and congresses of the Union Republics shall be convened every five years to accord with the established practice of planning economic development for five-year periods.

The 9th Five-Year Economic Plan (1971-1975)

The Directives for the Five-Year Economic Development Plan of the USSR for 1971-1975 defined the main task of the plan in the following words:

"to ensure a considerable upswing of the people's material and cultural standards on the basis of high growth rates in socialist production, enhancement of its efficiency, scientific and technical progress and accelerated growth of labour productivity."

The new five-year plan is breathtaking in the scope and magnitude of the undertaking for the further development of industrial and agricultural production, for the increase in national income by 37-40 per cent, for the rise in the real per capita income by nearly one-third, for an extensive house-building programme to provide accommodation for another 60 million people, for more foodstuffs, manufactured goods and services, for improving trade, public education and health services. An economic plan of such a vast scale to provide a higher income and a higher standard of life and greater cultural activity for 241 million people is only possible under socialist planning in a country where all the resources and means of production and distribution belong to the people as a whole and where all the working people are active participants in each and every facet of social activity.

Fearing the impact of the significance of the Plan on the minds of the working people of the capitalist countries who face the ordeal of an ever-growing increase in the cost of living, mounting prices for essential goods and the grim spectacle of rising unemployment, bourgeois propagandists attempted to cast doubt on the feasibility of implementing the plan by suggesting that there was a tussle going on within the Party leadership between those who laid stress on going over to light industry and an emphasis on the production of consumer goods and those who held on to the policy of giving priority to the exclusive development of heavy industry. But the adoption of the ninth Economic Plan by the Congress without a single dissenting vote proved this "assertion" to be absolutely groundless.

As Leonid Brezhnev pointed out in his report, modification in the national economic proportions did not mean that they were slackening their concern for heavy industry. He went on to stress: "The development of heavy industry is of special significance because, among other things, the basic task of improving the standard of living cannot be achieved without it. Heavy industry is to increase considerably the output of means of production for the accelerated development of agriculture and the light and food industry, for the still greater unfolding of house building, trade and community services."

The decisions of the 24th Congress of the CPSU give added strength to the world socialist community, to the brave Vietnamese people, to the cause of the Arab and Palestinian peoples, to the forces of national liberation in South and Southern Africa, to the struggles of the working class in the capitalist countries and to the anti-imperialist forces everywhere.

MESSAGE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Delivered by J.B. MARKS, Chairman of the S.A.C.P.

Dear Comrades,

On the occasion of the 24th Congress of your Party which marks yet another vital landmark in the progress and advancement of every sphere of activity of the Soviet peoples, we South African Communists, warmly and with deep affection greet our close comrades-in-arms in the fight against imperialism and for socialism, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The report presented to this 24th Congress by Comrade Brezhnev on behalf of the Central Committee is a document of immense importance to all the peoples of the multinational Soviet Union, because it heralds a new and epoch-making stage in consolidating the basis for the advance to communism, and because it is directed towards strengthening and extending the world socialist community.

The responsibility of your Congress is a weighty one. The improvement of the economic and cultural well-being of the Soviet people is of great international significance in demonstrating the superiority of the planned, socialist economy. The acceleration of Soviet technological and scientific progress, as well as defence capacity is of immense importance to the forces of peace and liberation all over the world.

It is indeed, no exaggeration to say that the stronger the Soviet Union becomes under the Leninist leadership of the CPSU, the more powerful are the moral, political and material resources available to the working-class, revolutionary democratic and national liberation forces in their struggles against capitalism, imperialism, neo-colonialism and racialism and for national liberation, peace and socialism.

Comrades, from its earliest beginnings our Party, which celebrates its jubilee year in 1971, having been founded on 30 July 1921, has associated itself with and defended the achievements of our Soviet comrades. The pioneer Communists of South Africa, Ivon Jones,

W.H. Andrews, S.P. Bunting and others joyfully hailed the great October Socialist Revolution of 1917, as a turning point in human history. They set themselves with might and main to defend its accomplishments as their own, in the true spirit of proletarian internationalism, and to spread its message among the workers and oppressed people of our country.

History has amply justified their faith. Today the Soviet Union, at the heart of the socialist community of nations, stands as the fortress of peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, the prototype of the socialist and communist future of mankind.

Today not only the Communists but the broad masses of the South African people have learnt, in the course of their revolutionary struggles against the terrorist "white supremacy" autocracy that dominates our country, the one-ness of our cause with that of the workers and oppressed peoples of the world, in whose vanguard stands the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the international communist movement. Our war of national liberation has been internationalised. Britain, France, the USA and other imperialist powers, in defiance of the United Nations and world opinion, provide arms and money for our oppressors, the bloodstained Hitlerites of the Pretoria regime. The fight for freedom headed by the African National Congress and its allies, including our Party, enjoys the fraternal support of our brothers in the independent African states, whose security is gravely threatened by South African imperialism, the Asian countries and the working-class and democratic movements in the imperialist countries. Of immense importance in our struggle is the invaluable moral and material support we have received and are receiving from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries.

These facts give the people of our country ample grounds for identifying our struggle with the strengthening of the socialist countries and the building of unity with all the forces opposed to imperialism. The glorious victories of our Vietnamese brothers and sisters, the advances of anti-imperialist movements everywhere, are part of and bound up with our victory — the victory of the South African democratic revolution.

We warmly welcomed, participated in and support the 1969 World Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties held in Moscow, and work for the fulfilment of its decisions, particularly the main resolution on

the tasks at the present stage of the struggle against imperialism and united action of the Communist and Workers' Parties and all anti-imperialist forces.

We are confident, dear Comrades, that your Congress will measure up to its responsibilities, and that it will mark yet another milestone in the victorious advance of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics towards the lofty goals envisaged by Marx and Lenin, and of all mankind towards peace, freedom and a socialist and communist future.

Long live the Communist Party of the Soviet Union!

Long live Communism!

Long live the unity of the international communist and working-class movement!

STATEMENT ON THE SALE OF BRITISH ARMS TO SOUTH AFRICA

The delegation of the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Commonwealth countries, Australia, Canada, Ceylon, Great Britain, Guyana, India and New Zealand, and the delegations of the South African Communist Party, the Communist Party of the USA and the Communist Party of Ireland attending the 24th Congress of the CPSU met together to consider the question of the decision of the British Tory Government to resume the sales of arms to South Africa.

The meeting rejected the contention of the British Government that by selling arms it was merely fulfilling its obligation under the Simonstown Agreement as specious and false. It condemned the supply of arms to South Africa as a device to bolster the terroristic racialist regime of Vorster and to lend support to the inhuman apartheid policies of the South African Government.

The meeting declared that the British Government's action was calculated to undermine the just struggles of the national liberation movements of South and southern Africa for democracy and freedom; and that the increasing military build-up of South Africa and the

policies and actions of its Government constituted a grave danger to the cause of peace and security on the African continent and the peace of the world.

The meeting called for intensified action in every country to rally the democratic and progressive forces in order to bring pressure on their governments to prevail upon the British Government and the governments of other Western countries to adhere to the UN Security Council resolution and halt the supply of arms to South Africa.

The meeting also called for greater moral and material support for the national liberation movements of South Africa, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) and Namibia (South-West Africa).

The delegations undertook to help accelerate the anti-apartheid campaigns and activities for the total isolation of White racist South Africa in every field of international relationship.



AFRICA: Notes and Comments

by A. Langa

FRANCE AND AFRICA – 1: Licking the Hand that Feeds You

The casual observer would be forgiven if, accompanying French President Pompidou on his recent West African tour, he thought for a while that West Africa was still one enormous French colony. And in a way it is: for French imperialism has always maintained much more open a physical and political presence in its former colonies in West Africa than the British. They are helped, of course, by political leaders of more than usual gutlessness and pliability; and in some cases – such as that of Ivory Coast – by rulers who, although black, really qualify as members of the French ruling class.

Pompidou's purposes in touring five of the former French colonies (and in the process sending the leaders of those omitted from the tour into a huff) were several. For one thing, it was necessary, in the wake of De Gaulle's demise, to reassert French primacy in the zone, not least against the encroachments of the Americans, who appear to be getting ready to make a strong play against French and British influence in West Africa. Nixon has been making noises about the unfair effect on US trade of agreements between African countries and the European Common Market – preference agreements which benefit France most of all. Aside from the trade issue, however, there is also the question of investment and of political control, where once again the French have felt under some pressure from US interests.

Pompidou was thus inevitably accompanied by Jacques Foccart, the French government's hatchet man on African affairs and the man who runs most of former French Africa's political police and intelligence services as well. (The saying goes that when Foccart flies into West

Africa for "consultations", a coup is no more than a week away.) Pompidou was also anxious to put down the strong signs of trouble in OCAM, the Afro-Malagasy economic organisation which the French have always supported, and which has latterly come under pressure due to arguments about the control of the airline Air Afrique, and more especially because of the issue of a deal with South Africa.

The South African issue, in fact, probably constituted the most powerful reason for the visit — despite the fact that it was hardly mentioned in reports about the tour in the western press.

FRANCE AND AFRICA — 2: The South African Conspiracy

France is South Africa's biggest supplier of arms. France is rapidly expanding political, trade and other links with South Africa. And France is co-operating more and more closely with the fascist south in implementing an aggressive policy in independent Africa. Aside from military aid in the suppression of guerrilla struggle, France has co-operated closely with South Africa and with Portugal in such key trouble spots as Biafra, where a muddy conglomeration of French political and oil interests, and South African and Portuguese desire for maximum disunity in black Africa, coincided in substantial, persistent assistance to the Ojukwu regime.

South Africa is now mobilising a major diplomatic offensive around the "dialogue" proposals of Houphouet-Boigny, Busia and the rest of the jackal pack. In this they have the avid support of Houphouet-Boigny, who has persisted with his talk of "dialogue" even after its hostile reception in much of Africa, and even when some of the erstwhile proponents of capitulation to the whites have been notably silent. Recently, Houphouet laid on a press conference in the building of his tame National Assembly, to which he invited National Assembly members, diplomats, representatives of the world's press (flown in from all over the world at the expense of the Ivoirien people), and assorted other hacks and flunkys. Here he reiterated his "conviction" that talking with Vorster would "help to end apartheid", and announced that he would propose that the OAU adopt his aims as official policy.

Ivory Coast has been loudly touted by imperialist spokesmen as the "African economic miracle", with the fastest annual rate of economic growth on the continent (8.5%). What is less often publicised

are the facts that (a) this development brings almost no discernible benefit to the mass of the people, since it is almost all concentrated in French and ruling elite hands; and (b) that it depends very much on the continued willingness of Ivory Coast leaders to be quislings, at the disposal of the French (and now of their South African allies as well) for whatever anti-African plot is currently afoot. This is made much easier by the fact that Houphouet is obsessed with fears of communism: literally any ally will serve, if he helps Houphouet in his god-given task of saving Africa from Russian and Chinese "penetration", and more immediately, if he saves the Ivory Coast from any infection from the dread doctrines of national liberation and socialism.

Thus there are now 2,450 Frenchmen in the Ivoirien civil service, compared with 850 at independence; the educational system is controlled completely by the 1,500 teachers from France; altogether, there are some 40,000 Frenchmen in Ivory Coast, compared to 4,500 or so at independence ten years ago.

Foccart and Houphouet together decide not only what is good for Ivory Coast, but what is good for all the Francophone states of West Africa, with the exception of Guinea. And now they have decided that the South Africans are the new heroes of Africa. To trade with the devil, as Ivory Coast has done all along, is not enough. If Houphouet and his French masters have their way, Africa must embrace the devil as well.

FRANCE AND AFRICA – 3: Menacing Algerian Independence

Relations between France and Algeria have in recent months been more tense than at any time since the end of the Algerian war of independence. The essential cause is simple: Algeria has taken a series of measures, most notably in nationalising its oil wealth, to break free from the "special relationship" imposed on the country as the price of a peaceful transfer of power by the Evian agreements of 1962.

In a determined speech in April, President Houari Boumedienne outlined plans for the repossession of Algerian oil which effectively settled all the questions which France had been attempting to negotiate on through Herve Alphand, the French special envoy.



Firstly, Boumedienne declared, the system of oil concessions to French and other oil companies was ended, and the state-owned SONATRACH oil concern would own all Algerian oilfields, although it would be free to arrange business relationships with foreign concerns. Secondly, \$100 million would be provided to compensate the oil companies for the 51% of their assets which were being taken over by the Algerian state. Thirdly, the new reference price for oil would be \$3.60 per barrel, as against \$2.55 in 1970.

The French oil companies, faced with this series of firm decisions, have reacted with hysteria. It should be noted, they say (and they are quite right), that this is really total nationalisation, and not 51%, since the 49% nominally left to them no longer carries the same rights

of exploitation as before. Also, the Algerian government is being unkind enough to demand that these robbers pay to the government the huge sums of tax arrears which they have hitherto avoided by a combination of arrogance, deception and reliance on French government protection. The effect of this demand by the Algerians will be that, far from receiving indemnity or compensation payments, these oil robbers will end up as debtors to the Algerian state, despite the fact that *they* claim that they ought to receive close to \$300 million.

The oil concerns are now requesting all the world's oil companies to boycott Algerian oil. This plan will certainly fail miserably, for a number of reasons. In the first place, Algeria has extremely good trade relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. And, of course, nothing delights British, Dutch, Italian and American oil corporations more than the prospect that the Algerian government will quietly cut the throat of their French competitors.

There is a point, however, at which competition between imperialists, whether at the level of the international corporation or at government level, gives way to a kind of murderous solidarity. And this is precisely what the French, oil companies and government alike, are attempting to induce. The French government has officially been playing things extremely cool, stating that Algeria is "entitled" to take these measures in its own interests, but warning that this must lead to Franco-Algerian relations being placed on the same footing as those between France and other states. What this means in practice, of course, is that the French are going to tear up all the elements of the Evian agreements which gave any benefit to Algeria, particularly in the fields of technical co-operation and trade (French abrogation of agreements to buy Algerian wine has already led to an Algerian decision to uproot large areas of vines in the coming years).

Unofficially, the French are attempting to do two things. Firstly, they are trying to persuade the World Bank to strong-arm Algeria into paying vast indemnities to the companies as the price of further development finance; at the same time the US government is being pressured to withhold agreement to a giant natural gas partnership between Algeria and the American El Paso oil corporation. Either of these ploys might well succeed, since neither the Americans nor the World Bank which they dominate have any sympathy for developing countries daring to control their own resources. On the

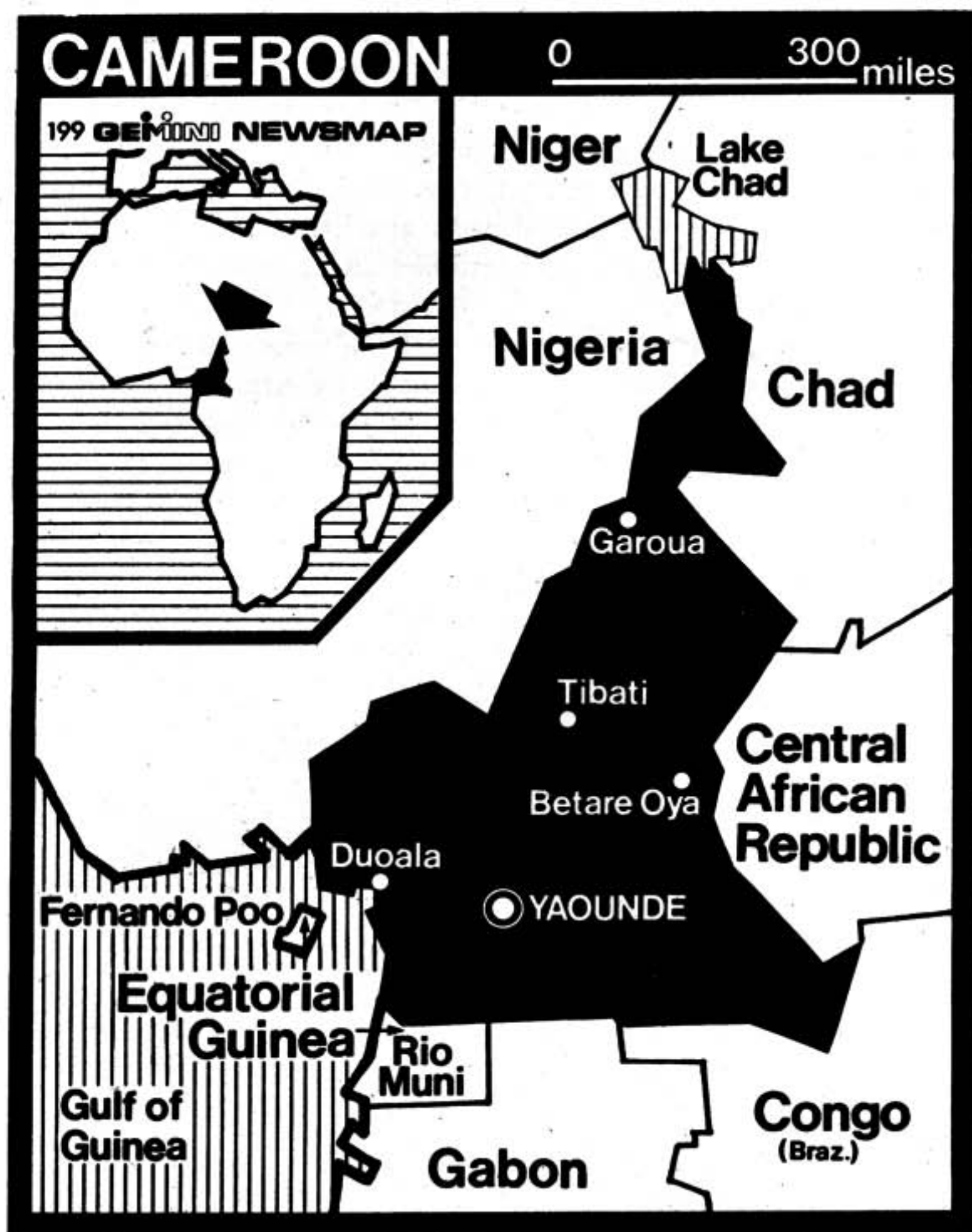
other hand, this would be a superb opportunity for the Americans to kick their French competitors in the teeth, something which they are usually willing to do. The second strand in French policy towards the Algerians, however, is to foment unrest and sabotage within the country itself, mainly, it appears, by using the large number of Frenchmen who work in Algeria under the Evian "aid" agreements. Thus in early May all French teaching staff in the universities of Algiers, Oran and Constantine went on strike, on the pretext that a French schoolboy had been "tortured" by Algerian police. This excuse was so blatantly flimsy that even the bourgeois press linked the teachers' strike to the oil dispute. And we may be sure, of course, that these acts are only the tip of the iceberg. One wonders what more French imperialism has in store.

African Martyr: Ernest Ouandie

The Cameroun regime of Ahmadou Ahidjo has murdered one of Africa's finest revolutionary sons, Ernest Ouandie. He was executed in February by firing squad after a "show trial" of grotesque unfairness, and after six months of persistent, bestial torture at the hands of the SEDOC, the Cameroun secret police (prominent in whose ranks, of course, are Frenchmen who served in Algeria and Indo-China).

Ernest Ouandie was the last living link between the historic days of the Cameroun nationalist struggle and today. He was the close comrade of Felix-Roland Moumie and Ruben Um Nyobe in the Union des Populations de Cameroun, and saw both of them die at the hands of the French imperialists: Ruben Um Nyobe was shot out of hand by French troops in 1958 during the savage repression of the UPC's guerrilla war against colonialism; Felix Moumie was assassinated in Geneva in 1960, again by a French agent. After the death in Cairo of another Vice-President of UPC, only Ernest Ouandie remained of the original nationalist leadership.

The brave war of the UPC against the French in the Fifties had united the population in support of independence; nevertheless, the French succeeded in excluding the UPC itself from power. As the New York Times commented in January 1960, "Contrary to all other United Nations precedents in releasing a trust territory, the French Camerouns was made an exception. The exception was due



to the fear that any new election would strengthen the power of the outlawed Union of Camerounian Peoples (UPC) . . .". Thus the bitter struggle of the UPC, the blood of thousands of its militants, the long years of war, of suffering for the people, resulted in the French nominee, Ahidjo, and his Union Camerounaise, coming to power.

At this time, the UPC began to suffer, as did many other revolutionary movements, from the differences in the socialist camp: indeed, the UPC suffered more than most, for it was already under severe pressure from the repression of Ahidjo. To try and heal those differences, to re-establish the fighting capacity of the movement, above all to ensure that the struggle against neo-colonialism was carried forward, Ernest Ouandie returned to Cameroun to fight in July 1961.

For the next nine years, he was not to be seen — indeed, it was often assumed that he was dead. Perhaps worse than that, however, was the fact that he was forgotten, not only by the Press or the general public, but by his fellow African revolutionaries, to whom the name of Felix-Roland Moumie still meant much, but who never thought of Ernest Ouandie, Moumie's close comrade in arms, until the news of his arrest in August 1970.

When the Cameroun regime finally set up its kangaroo court, to try Ouandie and some 85 others, they refused to allow the accused their own lawyers, let alone the opportunity of a proper defence. To this, and to the attempts to get Ouandie to participate, the guerrilla had only this to say: "I am wracked with torture, and I shall say nothing more except in the presence of the lawyers of my choice". He stuck to that decision, as the military tribunal railroaded him to the firing squad. The journal *Africasie* commented, in a fitting tribute to this African martyr:

"The dignity of Ernest Ouandie's behaviour must be hailed with profound admiration. Maintaining such calm assurance in the face of death and after six months of torture and degrading treatment is a great lesson to men who may one day suffer the same fate. Dignified behaviour, but without boasting, with a kind of humility, of humanity, which emphasises his grandeur. Ouandie unashamedly admitted that he had to make certain 'confessions' under torture, but he still had the courage to refute them all during a break between sessions, despite the certainty of subsequent reprisals . . . Alive or dead, from now on Ernest Ouandie will be one of the symbols of the struggle of the African peoples for freedom, for dignity."

TANZANIA: People's Army for Socialism

Recruiting has begun in Tanzania for the newly-formed People's Militia, whose role it will be to protect the country from attack by imperialists or internal reactionaries. This revolutionary action was decided on by the national executive of the ruling party, TANU, in the aftermath of the treacherous military coup in Uganda. The executive has issued "Guidelines" which analyse shortcomings and problems in implementing the epoch-making Arusha Declaration, and which stress the need for armed self-defence, not simply by a standing army, but by a true people's army of ordinary peasants and workers. This militia, moreover, must be a politically-conscious army of revolutionary militants.

"The National Executive Committee stresses the implementation of the Arusha Declaration and particularly the need to arouse political consciousness so that every Tanzanian understands our national environment and the importance of safeguarding the security and lives of the people, our policies, our independence, our economy and our culture.

"Political education must make the people aware of our national enemies and the strategies they employ to subvert our policies, our economy and our culture. To enable the people to confront the enemy, it is necessary to make them aware of the enemy's strength in all spheres, such as their army, commercial enterprise, life and habits, and the way these conflict with our convictions and aspirations.

"To confront the enemy the people must know they are the nation's shield. This means all defence and security matters should be in the hands of the people themselves. We do not have the means to establish large permanent armies to guard the whole country. Our army must be the people's army, used to teach the people how to defend themselves in their localities and to inform themselves on matters of national security. Therefore it is imperative to start training a militia for the whole country

"The registration of the militia and the army must be scrutinised minutely and supervised by the Party. To ensure co-operation between the army and the militia and to provide for political education to both must be a prime responsibility of the Party."

Aside from this major decision, the Guidelines also promise a thorough review by TANU of the quality of leadership, noting that a few leaders are still enriching themselves or being arrogant towards the people; calls for a comprehensive statement of overall national goals and policy objectives within the socialist framework; and promises that steps will be taken to eradicate colonial, hierarchical ways of making decisions without involving the masses. And, pointing to the lesson of Guinea, TANU asserts that the Party will take the lead in all mass activities, ensuring that party, army and people stand solidly together against the enemy, whether he be imperialist invader or Amin-type traitor.

The TANU Guidelines mark a new step forward in Tanzania's political development: it is of special importance that the leadership has, since the abortive mutiny of January 1964, seen clearly that the political role of the armed forces was crucial. There have for some time been political commissars in the Tanzania People's Defence Force; the new people's militia takes popular defence to a new and higher stage.



BOOK REVIEWS

AFRICA AND SOUTH AFRICA – THE IMPLICATIONS OF SOUTH AFRICA’S ‘OUTWARD-LOOKING’ POLICY
by Robert Molteno, published by the Africa Bureau. Price 24p.

This 28-page pamphlet by a member of the staff of the University of Zambia is one of the best assessments of South African foreign policy in Africa yet to appear in print.

The author traces the development of South African policy in recent years, and shows that a number of countries have entered into or extended economic relations with South Africa. Some, like Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana, have long been members of a customs union with South Africa, and however much the policy of their governments may vary, have little alternative but to acknowledge their economic dependence on the Republic. It is significant, however, that none of the three former British Protectorates have yet entered into diplomatic relations with South Africa. Only Malawi’s Banda has so far been prepared openly to flout the wishes of the Organisation of African Unity, the UN and world opinion generally by exchanging representatives with South Africa.

Other states have chosen of their own volition, however, to move into the South African orbit. Madagascar has signed an economic agreement, and the Ivory Coast, Gabon, Dahomey and others are

proposing to enter a "dialogue" with South Africa as a cover for extending trade relations. The advantages for African countries are believed to be access to capital for development; export markets; cheaper imports of manufactured goods; the export of migrant workers to South Africa.

Molteno analyses these expectations one by one and shows that they are hollow.

Capital for Development: Molteno points out that South African capital rarely goes into industry, even though it is industrial investment that African states seek first. "The reason is that South Africa is determined not to set up industries in neighbouring states which might compete with her own". Most private capital has gone into mineral extraction. South Africa's biggest loan has been for the non-productive project of building Malawi's new capital at Lilongwe.

Secondly, South African investment is usually tied to the use of South African goods, which makes South African investment unnecessarily expensive for the recipient.

But "probably the most serious drawback to reliance on South African capital is the danger that it will, as in the past, involve the importation of a racist pattern of labour relations as well". The Zambian copper mines are the most obvious example. Molteno thinks Botswana will have to beware that the process is not repeated with the mineral development due to take place there in the near future.

"There is clearly a danger that the importation of South African capital involves the importation of its racist system as well – particularly where South African construction and mining firms bringing white workers with them are involved. This results in various economic disadvantages: the high price of imported white labour which raises production costs; the strain on the balance of payments due to the repatriation of salaries and dividends; and the potential instabilities consequent on continuing dependency on foreign manpower."

Export Markets: Molteno comments that "South Africa's concern is not to promote two-way trade with Africa, but to increase her own exports to the rest of the continent so as to improve her deteriorating balance of payments. Africa is the only continent with which she has a favourable balance of trade".

South Africa could provide a large market for the developing industries of the rest of the continent. Yet South Africa refuses to allow such development. Being a high cost economy — largely because of the high cost of white labour — South Africa is vulnerable to competition from manufactured imports, and has taken steps to eliminate competition from other African countries, notably Rhodesia and Malawi. Namibia, Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana are examples of countries which South Africa has exploited without developing.

“These examples show that African states cannot look to South Africa as an outlet for their growing output of manufactured goods. She is determined that the trade relationship between herself and Africa should be the classic one so common between industrialised and under-developed states — the latter being confined to exporting unprocessed raw material and agricultural crops.”

Cheaper Imports of South African Goods: This is an illusion. South African goods are often no cheaper than those from other countries, and she can be undercut in textiles, plastics and electrical goods by countries like Japan and Hong Kong. South Africa has a minimal advantage in central and southern Africa because of lower transport costs.

There are two further disadvantages of South Africa as a source of supply. The first is that her economy is subject to serious inflation; the second is that she is politically unstable — a factor with serious economic consequences as was shown after Sharpeville. “The assumption — or hope — that the apparent calm of the last four years will last indefinitely is a dangerous illusion.”

The Export of Migrant Workers to South Africa: This has long been a source of income to some African countries, and it is possible that South Africa may be willing to import tens of thousands more workers from suitable African states in the coming years. But the wages of migrant workers on the mines and farms in South Africa are low, the migrant workers acquire no skill or experience which is useful for the development of their own economies, the migrant unemployed remain a burden on their home country when they return.

"The export of the unemployed as migrants both allows a government to sidestep a pressing problem of economic development and actually reduces the economy's capacity to develop by withdrawing its one abundant and potentially more efficient resource – able-bodied men".

South Africa's ambition is not limited to trade with individual African states. She also aims to create a huge free trade area in central and east Africa as a market for South African goods. *"While the benefits to South Africa would be enormous, the results for African states would be disastrous"*, says Molteno. *"The creation of a common market would halt any further industrialisation of other states in the area"*.

Molteno deals effectively with the argument of the "bridge-builders" who maintain that the strengthening of all forms of contact with South Africa must lead to the undermining of apartheid. On the contrary, he says, if other African countries follow the example of Malawi and Madagascar they will only help to entrench white supremacy for the following reasons:

"Firstly, in so far as hostility from African states has represented a factor in the thinking of White South Africa about the security of their future, these pressures would be removed.

"Secondly, if more African states abandon their commitment to the Africans under White rule, the liberation movements must be weakened. Their funds will be reduced. Their morale will fall. Their access to South Africa may even be cut off by such African states.

"Thirdly, the morale of Africans inside South Africa will decline to the extent that they see black leaders co-operating with their rulers. Equally, the morale of whites will rise – and is already rising. And they will feel even less need to come to any compromise with the black majority.

"Fourthly, black African trade with South Africa, to the extent that it benefits South Africa's economy, will increase its ability to finance the military and police establishment necessary to enforce apartheid

"The conclusion is clear: if Africa makes its peace with South Africa not only will this fail to reduce racialism in that country; it will in fact strengthen white supremacy".

Mr. Molteno's overall conclusion is that Black Africa can never be secure so long as the Southern part of the continent — embracing nearly 40 million people and nearly one and three quarter million square miles — is in the thrall of white supremacist regimes. For the bed-rock principles of these states represent a contradiction of the meaning and purpose of African independence: racialism versus non-racialism; the inferiority of Africans versus the equality of all men; minority rule versus majority rule

"This is one reason why Africa wants to liberate Southern Africa. It is also why South Africa is vigorously launching a counter-offensive to extend its power over neighbouring Black-ruled parts of the continent.

"The dangers to Africa of this counter-offensive by 'White Power' are incalculable. They provide the most cogent reason why African states cannot develop peacefully until white minority rule is ended, and why it is dangerous for African states to enter any relations with South Africa which the latter can exploit to her advantage, but to Africa's cost".

P.M.

AFRICA FIGHTS FOR INDEPENDENCE

by V. Solodovnikov, Novosti Publishing House — Paperback — 141 pages

The prospects of development for newly free states remains a key question of our time. The decade that has passed since the advances of 1960, when 17 African countries gained political independence, has been fraught with dramatic setbacks, fratricidal clashes, the onslaught of internal and external reaction. Yet the anti-imperialist revolution on the continent continues to develop and make headway. The future of Africa's people is in the balance. Is Africa to remain "the village" of the capitalist world or are the young states to achieve true political and economic independence?

The time is opportune for a critical examination of the record to date, and this is provided by this excellent and highly stimulating little book. But this careful study, full of well analysed facts and statistics, is more than that; it is above all an invaluable aid to under-

standing and assessing the modern social and political transformations on the continent with, in the words of the publishers, "an eye to forecasting the prospects of development for newly free African states". Its author, Dr. Solodovnikov, needs little introduction to African patriots. A true friend and comrade of our continent, he has visited numerous African countries, participated in many international forums on African problems, and is best known for his brilliant expositions on the Leninist thesis of non-capitalist development as applied to African conditions.

In attempting to view Africa's future the author first of all begins by scrutinizing its past. He outlines the consequences of the slave trade, and of colonialism, and assesses the legacy of social, cultural, technological and economic backwardness, to which the newly independent states are heir. Outlined too are the historical factors and processes which influence the course of development in African states in a dynamically positive way: the impact of the October Revolution; the growth of the national liberation struggle; the defeat of fascism; the existence of the socialist camp; the collapse of colonialism and the general crisis of capitalism.

Class Analysis

Marxists are agreed that history is the history of class struggle, and yet when confronted by the problems of analysing trends and events in the underdeveloped societies of Africa, where class forces and class alignments are not easy to detect, many normally astute theorists fail to interpret events from a class point of view. The sometimes complementary, sometimes contradictory, at most times highly volatile roles of the contending elites, state bureaucrats, military brass, comprador bourgeoisie etc., are often enough well documented, but equally often their activity is not seen in relation to the role of those true creators of history, the toiling masses.

Dr. Solodovnikov's analysis is above all a class analysis. He points out that unity of action between the various classes and strata of African society was a feature of the national liberation movement at the stage when national independence was the primary goal. Social contradictions were of secondary importance at the time, but by the mid-sixties, when the first stage of the anti-imperialist revolution was mainly concluded, the clash of class interests increased "for the anti-imperialist revolution

made it imperative for the African countries to choose their course of social and economic development and proceed with social and economic transformations”.

Thus the second stage of the anti-imperialist revolution assumed a social nature which essentially meant “choosing between capitalism and socialism, determining by what methods, at the expense of what classes or social strata and in whose interests industrialization, which entails enormous funds and efforts, is to be accomplished”. The author asks: “Who is to own the means of production? This is the major issue of class and political struggle in African countries today”. The answer to these crucial questions depends on the class orientation of the ruling group: “This is the reason for the aggravation of political struggle and the crisis of national movements and parties in Africa at the present stage of the anti-imperialist revolution”.

The political cleavage emerging in certain African states between the ruling circles who have opted for a capitalist way of development and the working masses who reject capitalism is becoming accentuated. Dr. Solodovnikov traces this development in a number of cases and points to imperialism’s role in using every subjective and objective difficulty to prevent the transformation of national liberation movements into social, anti-imperialist, and anti-capitalist revolutions. The disasters, setbacks, coups, “reflect the inconsistency of the political course of the petty bourgeois elements striving to solve Africa’s problems within the capitalist framework”.

An Era of Transition

What of the future? Can Socialism win in Africa? The author contrasts the nature and tendencies of capitalist development on the continent with the anti-capitalist, socialist tendencies which are also very strong. The major feature of our epoch is the transition from capitalism to socialism, and this both strengthens socialist tendencies and makes it possible for pre-capitalist societies to by-pass capitalism. In conditions of underdevelopment the struggle for socialism is related to choosing a non-capitalist path. This entails developing the state sector in industry and agriculture; establishing state control over foreign capital in the interests of the people; restricting and gradually eliminating the economic and political rights of the privileged groups; liquidating

colonial and feudal survivals; encouraging co-operative farming, radical democratic changes in society and the establishment of close ties with socialist countries. "In the final analysis, this road" (the theoretical concept of which was first worked out by Lenin) "may lead the country to a high level of productive forces and the construction of a socialist society in which all means of production would belong to the people".

The pertinent question is how to consolidate the socialist-orientated states? How to break the iron grip of internal and external reaction? How to weather the storm of intensified political struggle once the choice of the country's path of development is made? In assessing the mistakes and setbacks that have confronted the anti-imperialist struggle in Africa and elsewhere in the third world it must be borne in mind that non-capitalist policies lead to an intensification of the class struggle and may be conducted only by those forces genuinely supporting socialism. Bitter experience has shown that inconsistent policies, attempts to arrive at ideological compromise between socialism and capitalism, can only end in failure. Theory and experience teach that to consolidate the path towards socialist development the newly independent state must begin with the establishment of a political system that can guarantee the victory of the revolution. It is necessary that the left-wing of the anti-imperialist movement gains the upper hand and forms an alliance with the broad masses of the working people. To achieve this means the forceful implementation of non-capitalist policies and programmes, with the masses mobilised and made conscious of their role and prepared for the necessary hardships and sacrifices. The revolutionary party must be in control of the state apparatus, including the army, and the party must ensure that the state serves the interests of the masses and achieves all the basic targets of the transitional period. According to Dr Solodovnikov such parties are developing in Africa today, and he traces the breakdown of the old national parties and the emergence of the new vanguard parties on the one hand and the bourgeois parties on the other.

Dr Solodovnikov does not predict an easy path to socialist development in Africa. What he does succeed in doing is clarifying the options open to the anti-imperialist forces, and the measures and programmes which if adopted hold out the prospects of overcoming backwardness and completing the historic struggle for meaningful

political and economic independence. Those countries of the third world which choose these options will move closer towards the world socialist system. Those countries where the exploiting classes gain the upper hand, will drift towards capitalism.

Sharpening Struggle

The class struggle is sharpening in Africa, as it is throughout the world. External factors have a great impact on internal struggle. The days when the destinies of whole nations were determined by the imperialists are over. The balance has swung in favour of the forces of anti-imperialism. The consolidation of the alliance of revolutionary forces for a united front against imperialism is a major factor in developing the struggle. The interests of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries and those of the revolutionary anti-imperialist movement coincide.

The shoddy little band of Bandas and Boignys, and their imperialist masters and racist cronies, will find themselves increasingly isolated. As the author of this invaluable booklet concludes: "Africa today is on the way to genuine freedom and progress and no force in the world can side-track it from this course".

Alexander Sibeko

THEORIES ON AFRICA AND NEO-COLONIALISM

Edited by Kurt Buettner, Karl Marx University, Leipzig, 1971

Those who are acquainted with the publications from the German Democratic Republic must surely have come across the formulation: "The two German traditions". These words express the simple fact that on one side there is the tradition of the Bismarcks and the Hitlers and on the other side that of Marx and Thalmann (to name only a few). The existence of the two German states, the Bismarckian West German state and the Marxian German Democratic Republic, is a living proof of the irreconcilability of these "two German traditions". In his interesting article on "The Heinrich Barth Legend in West German Neocolonialism" which is to be found in the book under review, Gerhard Launicke (in a different context) confirms:

" . . . today it is no longer the bourgeoisie in Germany that decides about the scientific and cultural heritage of the German people. The working class, which exercises power in the German Democratic Republic . . . has pledged itself to maintain the great traditions of German Science" (p.107) and he concludes " . . . our socialist Republic is the guardian of all the positive traditions of the German nation" (p.115).

The book is a joint product of the social scientists from the African Department of the "Africa and Middle East Section" of the Karl Marx University, Leipzig. The articles deal with different aspects of West German neocolonial theories on Africa. Stressing the significance of the ideological class struggle "in and around Africa" Kurt Buttner writes that "it is this, amongst other things, which decides whether the consciousness of the masses of the people is activated in the sense of social progress or disorientated in the interests of imperialism and of reactionary forces in Africa" (p.10).

Economic Relations

Klaus Hutschereuter discusses some aspects and tendencies in the West German Sociology and Politology relating to developing countries. Albin Kress in his stimulating article "On the function of Neo-colonialist Industrialisation – Models" states that the economic independence of African states does not simply mean a complete break in their economic exchange relations with the capitalist world market but a process of overcoming the exploitative international capitalist labour-division in the sense of a dialectical negation.

"Negritude in the System of Imperialist Ideology" is dealt with by Rainer Arnold. He shows how Senghor's theories coincide with the interests of the West German ruling class. Jahn has popularised Senghor in West Germany. His theory of "neo-african culture" Arnold maintains, is "an eclectic conglomeration of the reactionary "Bantu philosophy" of the Franciscan monk Tempels, of the existentialist attempts to interpret the cultural emancipation of the peoples of Africa by Sartre and of the mystical and irrational gnosiology of Senghor" (p.71). He summarises the characteristics of Negritude as follows:

- “(a) *denial of classes, their replacement by racial criteria.*
- (b) *harmony concepts (class harmony, harmony of Europe and Africa), elite character of culture*
- (c) *emphasis on the European language, the absolute position given to formal and especially stylistic elements*
- (d) *the integration of Negritude and its representatives in the official, manipulated, bourgeois cultural life” (p.77).*

Thea Buttner starts from the Marxist premise that the civilisations of all peoples are of equal value since they have potentially the same unlimited possibilities of developments. This, she underlines, does not mean that the specific historical conditions like the colonial deformation of African civilisations should be overlooked. She exposes the theories (to take one example) of the West German Africanist Westermann, who maintains that the “negro race” is essentially “static, conservative, without historical consciousness, unfavourably disposed to everything new, bound to a restricted locality and attached with religious fervour to the beloved earth” and is allegedly incapable of making any historical progress *without external stimulus*.

Neo-Nazism

Finally Kurt Buttner points out that the Neo-Nazi hydra is again emerging, lifting up its ugly head in West German historiography on Africa.

In these few pages (159pp) the authors have successfully opened our eyes to the ever-growing danger of West German Neo-colonialism and Neo-Nazism which is threatening not only the West German people but also the African, in fact the whole of humanity. We hope this is the first and not the last attempt by the GDR to publish a book of this nature in a language understandable to the African readers. The authors speak a clear and uncompromising language of Marxist anti-colonialism and anti-imperialism. Their approach is interdisciplinary. There is more to it. One notices an interplay of objectivity and partiality which manifests itself in the self-identification of the authors with the cause of the total emancipation of the African people. Here lies the strength of the book and its convincing power.

The problems concerning the unliberated South and the Portuguese colonies are not touched on even by way of passing reference. At a time when African and international reaction is planning a "dialogue" (to use their term) with the Southern racialists and Portuguese murderers it is important more than ever before to place the problems of "these areas" in the forefront because they have a direct bearing on independent Africa. Nkrumah's words that the independence of Ghana is meaningless until the whole continent is free have not lost their validity and significance.

The comparison of the English version with the originals reveals some inaccuracies and some unhappy translation which could be overcome through strict editing.

African View

It would be desirable in the future to make a comparative study of bourgeois African studies in the major imperialist countries. Perhaps this task should be undertaken by the young and tender scientific research being carried on in Dakar and Makerere, in Dar es Salaam and Lusaka, in Ibadan and Yaounde. Patrice Lumumba, the great son of Africa, actually saw the necessity of liberating African research from colonialism. In his last letter to his wife he wrote:

"The day will come when history will speak. But it will not be the history which will be taught in Brussels, Paris, Washington or the United Nations.

"It will be the history that will be taught in countries which have won freedom from colonialism and its puppets. Africa will write its own history and in both north and south it will be a history of glory and dignity".

This book from the GDR can be regarded as a contribution in this direction.

F. MELI, Leipzig, March 1971.

RHODESIA: The British Dilemma

*by E.E.M. Mlambo, an International Defence and Aid Fund Pamphlet.
Price 25p.*

The author of this pamphlet writes with first-hand knowledge of his subject. He was born in Rhodesia and began his education there, continuing it in South Africa, Britain and the United States. He was for some time a teacher in Rhodesia but now lives in England where he is doing research work at the University of London.

Mr Mlambo traces developments in Rhodesia from the time of the 1961 constitution to the present day, having in mind his main aim of emphasising British responsibility for the existing impasse. The British Government of 1961, he says, "was convinced that it had created a constitution that would provide a smooth transition to majority rule, especially because of the provisions which were designed to protect African civil rights". These provisions were the Declaration of Rights, the Constitutional Council to act as watchdogs to ensure the implementation of the Declaration of Rights, a complicated voting system to provide for African representation in Parliament, and entrenched clauses insisting on a two-thirds majority before the constitution could be amended to the disadvantage of the Africans.

With the sad experience of the entrenched clauses in the South African Constitution behind them, the British Government had no excuse for repeating the experiment with any hope that African rights would be guaranteed. So long as power is vested in the White minority, that power will be used to perpetuate White Supremacy, no matter what the intention of the constitution-makers may be. In fact, this lesson had been rammed home so often in South Africa that one is doubtful if the British Government could have had any illusions about what was to happen in Rhodesia.

This was proved by the British reaction to UDI. Mr Mlambo clearly shows that Britain rejected the resort to force and opted for economic sanctions because her aim was "to bring Smith to legality, not to democratise the political system". And Britain, under both Labour and Tory Governments, has stood idly by, mouthing its adherence to the "five principles" while Smith has steadily introduced one measure after another reducing these principles to a nullity, together with any prospect of a change so long as the White minority is allowed to retain power.

Sanctions was a bluff, and so was the resort to the United Nations. On November 10, 1970, Britain vetoed an Afro-Asian resolution in the UN Security Council which stipulated that Rhodesia should not be given independence without the fulfilment of majority rule. The British representative explained that his government had a commitment to see whether a realistic basis for the settlement of the Rhodesian problem on the basis of the five principles existed and therefore could not accept any fresh commitment which might restrict them in any way in reaching a settlement. Can hypocrisy be taken further? Even the principle is rejected because something might have to be done to implement it.

Mr Mlambo comments: "There is now a possibility that the Tories will settle with Smith on his terms, regardless of the effect this would have on the African majority in Rhodesia and on other African states".

Mr Mlambo fears that if a settlement satisfactory to the majority of the people in Rhodesia cannot be obtained by negotiation, "there is no alternative but to pursue the course proposed by the Organisation of African Unity and endorsed by the Lusaka conference of non-aligned countries" in September 1970. "These resolutions are a warning that a policy of appeasing the white racials in Southern Africa will end in a racial war."

If there is a weakness in Mr Mlambo's approach, it is that he still hopes the scales will fall from British eyes and they will see the light before it is too late. It is our belief that there are neither scales on British eyes nor scales of justice in their hands. The British Government is inextricably involved in the maintenance of white supremacy in Southern Africa. British weapons are put in the hands of white South Africans who violate British and international law by invading Rhodesia to keep the illegal Smith regime in power. NATO weapons are likewise supplied to the Portuguese in Angola and Mozambique. At stake are the thousands of millions of pounds of British and other foreign capital invested in all the territories of Southern Africa and guarded by the white supremacist armies.

Rhodesia is not just a British problem. It cannot be solved in isolation. It is an international problem, bound up with the world-wide struggle of the colonial peoples for their emancipation. The road to freedom in Rhodesia no longer runs through Lancaster House in London; African rights can never be obtained by constitutions with

entrenched clauses. Majority Black rule must be based on majority Black power and must be imposed by the organised force of the Black majority. Not until that stage is reached will the shackles of racism, imperialism and neo-colonialism be struck off the limbs of all Southern Africa's peoples.

Z.N.

SOLEDAD BROTHER: The prison letters of George Jackson
Penguin Books, 1971, 35p.

The fate of many radical militants in America has been imprisonment and death. This was never as evident as now with the upsurge of black liberation. The more this movement voices its revolutionary consciousness the more are its leaders murdered and incarcerated. But new leaders burgeon daily. Articulate and politically sophisticated, they replace severed stems with strong roots. They spread deep in the fertile ground of the ghettos. They grow in the gaols. In time they will blossom on the barricades. There is no doubt this process will give fruit. Despite vicious suppression by the fascist ruling class and its predatory gun-slinging 'pigs', there can be no holding back. Too many holes perforate the dyke of American capitalism. It remains only for the American working masses to pour their millions into the tide.

An outspoken advocate of united action against the ruling elite is George Jackson a courageous black revolutionary. In 1961 he was sentenced to 'a year to life' for his part in a petty theft. He was 18 years old at the time. He is still in prison. Now on a trumped-up charge of killing a Soledad prison guard he could be executed. Because his first conviction was technically for life the death sentence is mandatory.

In a few painful but inspiring hours of reading one shares with George Jackson a decade of privation, impassioned self-struggle and mounting ideological conviction. His formative years, in common with most black Americans, were tough and soul-destroying. To survive he had first to negotiate the perilous course of gladiatorial activities prescribed by white society for its black slum dwellers. For the deprived the consequence of survival is often imprisonment.

For the rebel, life in prison is doubly dangerous. Those who challenge authority are under constant harassment. For those who are black as well as political, intimidation is intensified. Guards and white convicts find common cause against black 'trouble-makers'. Compliance buys comparative security, but it also emasculates. Because Jackson has asserted his humanity and resisted ignominy he has been kept 10 years in prison, seven of them in solitary. Sustained only by his own inner resilience he has grown more and more determined to expose and fight the system. This determination has cost him his most potent years. But he has bent the iron bars of isolation to his own advantage. He has read and studied voraciously:

"It was three years in prison with the time and opportunity available to me for research and thought that motivated a desire to remold my character. I think that if I had been on the street . . . I would probably be a dope fiend or a small-stakes gambler, or a hump in the ground."

His mind has roamed free, ruthlessly tracking down the malignant disease in the head and heart of American society and planning for its extirpation. At the same time, through rigorous daily exercise, he has fought atrophy and kept his physical condition apace with his mental development. A stirring picture emerges of the dedicated revolutionary arming himself for the great confrontation. His marxist studies have enabled him to clearly identify his enemy:

"The pig is protecting the right of a few private individuals to own public property!! The pig is merely the gun, the tool . . . It is necessary to destroy the gun, but destroying the gun and sparing the hand that holds it will for ever relegate us to a defensive action, hold our revolution in the doldrums, ultimately defeat us. The animal that holds the gun, that has loosed the pig of war on us, is a bitter-ender, an intractable, gluttonous vulture, who must eat our hearts to live. Midas-motivated, never satisfied, everything he touches will turn into shit! Slaying the shitty pig will have absolutely no healing effect at all, if we leave this vulture to touch someone else. Spare the hand that holds the gun and it will simply fashion another."

Jackson is not as clear when it comes to dealing with the vulture but he is at pains to condemn black chauvinism. He regards the proponents of race war as opportunistic; their policies play into the hands of the establishment:

"War on the honky, it's just another mystification . . . The blanket indictment of the white race has done nothing but perplex us, inhibit us. The theory that all whites are the immediate enemy and all blacks our brothers . . . doesn't explain the black pig; there were six on the Hampton-Clark kill. It doesn't explain the black paratroopers . . . who put down the great Detroit riot, and it doesn't explain the pseudobourgeois who can be found almost everywhere in the halls of government working for white supremacy, facism, and capitalism."

George Jackson's letters, covering the years 1964-1970, reflect his evolution from embittered black rebel to confident revolutionary, a mirror in microcosm of a more general process, which he hopes for and which will continue among black militants at large in the outer prison of American society. In a letter dated June 3, 1970 Jackson writes:

"I still think of myself as a black, and an African but I can't be satisfied with myself until I am communist man, revolutionary man, and this without feeling that I've denied myself, or failed to identify."

It is significant that the book contains a dedication not only to 17-year-old Jonathan Jackson, who was shot dead in an attempt to force the release of his brother and other Soledad politicals, but also to Angela Davis who as a communist woman has fulfilled herself by identifying her cause with the American working class, black and white.

Scarlet Whitman

BLACK AMERICA AND THE WORLD REVOLUTION

by Claude M. Lightfoot, published by New Outlook Publishers, New York. Price 90 cents.

"Whatever the contributions in the past, the present situation dictates the need for a greater mobilisation of democratic forces than ever before. The situation is more crucial than in the days of the civil war and the response of the communists throughout the world must be even greater than the Marxists during that period."

This is one of the many interesting concepts contained in the latest pamphlet "Black America and the World Revolution" by Claude Lightfoot, a leading American Communist. In 1955 Lightfoot was placed under restriction by the US Government and it was only in 1964 that he and other Communists were able to obtain passports to travel abroad.

This pamphlet contains a series of five speeches that he delivered in the period from 1966 to 1970. While the speeches, made to various and varied audiences, deal with different subjects, there are common themes throughout, namely the relevance of Marxism-Leninism to the Black struggle, the leading role of the working class, the alliance between the socialist countries, newly emergent countries, national liberation movements and progressive forces in the capitalist countries, and the importance of international solidarity.

Marxists are not armchair theoreticians who merely confine themselves to observation and analysis. Throughout history they have also rendered assistance and organised solidarity campaigns for the oppressed in all countries. At the time of the civil war in America, Marx mobilised the International Working Men's Association to exert pressure on Lincoln, and to arouse the European working class to action. At that time the ruling class in Britain thought their interests would be best served by a Southern victory and they were toying with the idea of intervention but, as Marx commented, "the British workers wrote one of the finest pages in international working class solidarity when they went on strike against Britain's participation".

"It was not the wisdom of the ruling classes but the heroic resistance to their criminal folly by the working class of England that saved the rest of Europe from plunging headlong into an infamous crusade for the perpetuation and propagation of slavery on the other side of the Atlantic." (Karl Marx and F. Engels, Selected Works, Vol. 1, page 958.)

At a time when Americans, Black and White, are being sent to far-off places to "preserve democracy", Lightfoot warns of the dangers that lie ahead for newly independent countries. In particular, he warns that Africa "may well become the place d'armes of world imperialism" and outlines the increased penetration of imperialism into Africa.

In dealing with the liberation struggles being conducted in Southern Africa, he shows an understanding of the difficulties encountered by our freedom fighters, and there is no confusion in his mind as to who the true revolutionaries are. His trip abroad and his meetings with members of the liberation movements helped to give him a better understanding of the situation and it is obvious that he was very impressed by the spokesmen of the South African movement.

Many people ask why we have not yet won our independence and Lightfoot deals with some of the important reasons:

... The Struggle in the South is the last outpost for imperialist rule on the continent. What happens there can determine what happens in the second stage of the struggle in the rest of Africa – that is African Unity and the struggle against neo-colonialism.

... The southern area constitutes the richest part of Africa in regard to both resources and industrial development. South Africa is the industrial heart of Africa.

... These regimes have instituted forms of terror and suppression that are rivalled only by Hitler in another era.

The role of NATO in the Portuguese territories emphasises many of the points he makes. Paraphrasing Kennedy he says:

"Ask not what our African brothers and sisters can do for us. Ask what we of African descent can do to help finish the job of

liberating the entire African continent; for in doing so, we will strengthen our fight for liberation in the US."

This is a clear understanding of international proletarianism and the relationship of the struggle of the Blacks in America to that of the African continent.

THE HUNGRY HALF

by Idris Cox, published by Lawrence and Wishart. Price 75p.

The sub-title of Idris Cox's penetrating book is "a study in the exploitation of the Third World", and the 120 pages which follow document that phrase in relentless, closely argued detail. In essence, Cox has turned his long experience of the underdeveloped world to the task of relating the concern about underdevelopment, world poverty and "aid" to the brutal realities of imperialist exploitation and oppression of the half of mankind which lives in the Third World of Africa, Asia and Latin America.

This is a valuable service, and one particularly hopes that the book will achieve wide circulation among young people in the developed capitalist countries, who are concerned about world poverty and wish to help, but who are in many cases confused about the realities.

And, to those who are confronted with the reality before their own eyes in the nations of the Third World, who can see imperialism ripping wealth from their countries, ripping life itself from the people, Idris Cox's work will provide the world-wide perspective, the figures, the overall view of the problem which revolutionaries must possess if they are effectively to challenge the imperialist octopus.

One can cite one horrifying fact after another, scrupulously documented in Cox's study. In Africa there is one doctor for every 50,000 inhabitants, as against one for every 800 in Europe. In Latin America as a whole, 1.3% of the landowners are in possession of 71.6% of the entire cultivated area. In Asia, about four out of every five school children will be forced by poverty to drop out before they have finished four years of primary school. The facts, the deadly figures, march across the pages.

But what Idris Cox has done is to put these facts in a meaningful and revolutionary perspective. We have had plenty of crocodile tears about "the plight of developing countries" from "liberal" supporters of imperialism. Cox rips away this hypocrisy in its most prevalent guises (e.g. the neo-Malthusian "population explosion" scaremongers), and sets out meticulously the way in which the depredation and profiteering by the great trusts and corporations of the imperialist countries are directly responsible for the disease, the warfare, poverty and death of the people of the Three Continents. He has detailed the gigantic profits of the advanced capitalist countries, through corporate activities, through the terms of world trade which are heavily in favour of those who are already rich, and — yes — through the "aid" so beloved of the liberals, which acts as essential oil for the exploitive imperialist machine.

Idris Cox calls, in conclusion, for the British people (for whom the book is primarily written) to press for a number of immediate measures to repair some of this monstrous damage. Among these are guaranteed and higher stable prices for primary goods and raw materials, a tax or levy on profits made by British concerns in the Third World, and an increase in genuine, interest free aid to the developing countries. He also demands that *all debts* on former loans, whether capital or interest, should be cancelled. The full importance of this demand lies in the fact that the overseas debt burden on Third World countries is growing at an enormous rate: it is likely to reach £40,000 million by 1980. And with every pound of imperialist aid lent, and debt burden, with interest, grows apace. The crippling nature of the debt burden can be seen, in the case of Africa, in a paper by the Soviet economist Leonhard V. Goncharov*, where it is demonstrated that payments of loan capital and interest, combined with the enormous repatriation of profits and sometimes of capital on the part of private business, constitutes a massive drain on the vital capital resources of the continent. In 1967, for example, US investors "earned" \$418 million gross profits in Africa on direct investments. No less than \$364 million of this was repatriated to the US, and a mere \$176 million flowed into the continent in new investment from the US.

These are the facts of oppression. In the struggle to overthrow the system which perpetuates it, Africans and Asians and Latin Americans need the aid of the people of the imperialist countries, not merely

in terms of the general revolutionary struggle of all mankind against imperialism and capitalism, but specifically to help and defend Third World countries when they act to defend their interests against the oppressor. If Idris Cox's book is as widely read as it should be, that aid will be much more easily forthcoming.

A. Langa

* "On the Drain of Capital from African Countries", Centre for Afro-Asian Research of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Studies on Developing Countries No. 42.





PAUL ROBESON AND AFRICA

by Alex la Guma

The great Afro-American singer Paul Robeson was born on April 9, 1898, at Princeton, New Jersey. On April 13 and 14, 1971, a symposium on "Paul Robeson and the Afro-American Struggle" was held at the Academy of Arts, Berlin, in the German Democratic Republic. The following is the paper delivered to the Berlin symposium by the South African writer, Alex la Guma.

Honoured Chairman, friends, allow me to express my sincere thanks for the invitation to be present here to you and the organisers of this symposium on Paul Robeson and on the struggle of the Afro-American people.

We can well understand the sentiments which stimulated this gathering. The cause of Afro-Asian solidarity, solidarity with the Afro-American people, and in fact with all oppressed and persecuted people throughout the world, is a characteristic of the German Democratic Republic. Since its inception, the GDR has done many things

which have vindicated the honour of progressive Germany. Your people have risen like the phoenix from the ashes of Nazism; and you have shown time and again that the spirit of Thaelmann, Beimler, the Spartacists, Karl Marx and Frederick Engels did not die as a result of the Hitlerite depredations.

The present demonstration of your solidarity with the Afro-American people whose suffering and heroism is today epitomised by Angela Davis, is certainly close to the hearts of the African people as well.

The forefathers of the Afro-American people were brought from my continent during the seventeenth century. The black people of the USA are there today because their ancestors were brought there against their will, chained and bound in the dark holds of slave ships. Since then, from free man to second-class citizen, the struggles of our peoples have always been towards the same objective: complete freedom.

The newly-captured Africans who leaped from the slave ships to their deaths; the young Afro-Americans today facing the might of white supremacy on the streets of the United States; the heroism of Angela Davis, are all common factors in the long and bloody history of the black man's constant efforts to free himself from the yoke of slavery.

Common Enemy

The struggle of the Afro-American parallels in many ways the struggles of colonial peoples all over the world to rid themselves of exploiters and slave-masters. Dr Martin Luther King was murdered in Tennessee for the same reasons Patrice Lumumba was murdered in the Congo: and by the same forces. The African black man and the American black man are fighting the common enemy, international imperialism, whether in the form of Portuguese and South African racist troops in Southern Africa or the police forces of the United States. In Vietnam and Indo-China the same struggle goes on against the same enemy for the same reasons.

While we wage our present-day struggle, we must recall at some time or other the struggles of the past as well. We Africans who today confront the forces of fascism and racist oppression call all the time on the international progressive community for unity and support for our cause. The international alliance of solidarity with oppressed Africa has

a history in which the contribution of progressive America has a place. Not only is Paul Robeson close to us because of his ancestral origins, but because he stands great in the long struggle of the American people, both black and white, for justice both in his homeland and outside it.

Although of African descent, Paul Robeson did not come in contact with the cause of African freedom until the end of the 1920's. It was in 1928 that he placed the song "Ole Man River" on the musical map of the world. He had come to London then to appear in "Show Boat". It is perhaps typical of a man from an oppressed community to feel more at home among others in the same plight, rather than in the company of the celebrities who feted him in London. So Paul Robeson felt much easier when in the company of British dockworkers and Welsh miners, and the many Africans whom he met. Many of the Africans in London then were students and political workers, and from these Paul Robeson found a revival of Africa within himself. Among the Africans he must have met in London then were several who were to become noteworthy afterwards — men like Jomo Kenyatta, Nkrumah and others.

Cheap Labour

It might be of interest to take a quick glance at what was happening in Africa at that time. It was a period when more and more efforts were being made by the colonialists to extract the maximum of wealth from Africa in order to bolster up their tottering economy. Law upon law, regulation on regulation were introduced in the regions of East and West Africa to ensure the maximum cheap labour and the highest production of raw materials and other wealth.

In Tanganyika for example, an unwarranted departure from work was considered a criminal offence; in Uganda regulations enforced every adult African to work for 30 days a year without wages on road construction. Peasants were allowed to sell their crops only within a fixed time in restricted zones and for set prices. The policies of the imperialists transformed the countries of Africa into hell for the Africans and paradise for all foreign exploiters.

Increased exploitation coincided with social and political awareness among Africans and they were inevitably drawn into the anti-imperialist movement. In 1920 the Kikuyu of Kenya set up their first organisation; in Tanganyika the establishment of mass peasants' and workers'

organisations was a sign of the growing awareness of the working people; in Dahomey in West Africa railway workers launched a significant strike, the first of its kind; likewise workers took action in Senegal, Guinea, and on the Ivory Coast. These were the first efforts of the modern working-class and political movements in Africa.

The Kikuyu Central Association sent their secretary-general, Jomo Kenyatta, to Britain where he carried on intensive work on behalf of the African population of Kenya. It is under these circumstances that Paul Robeson had the opportunity of coming in contact with the African situation. Through these contacts, through the inevitable discussions, Robeson became aware of the continent of his ancestors who had been taken from it in chains.

In what was then the Union of South Africa, a rapid consciousness of the importance of the national liberation struggle of the African people was also developing at that time. Together with the demands of the oppressed black people for emancipation, a class-consciousness was also taking deep root. African workers saw themselves not only oppressed as black people, but also exploited as workers. Inevitably the ideas of socialism caught the interest of more and more Africans.

The New Jerusalem

It is not coincidental that the visit to the USSR by Paul Robeson in 1934 had the same effect on him as it did on the South African leader Gumede. Paul Robeson on visiting the USSR said that he had seen whole nations of so-called "primitive peoples" now building highly-developed socialist republics, working and building countless new factories, schools, universities, all within twenty years. To him this proved the falsity of the colonialist claim that black people would not be able to rule themselves for thousands of years.

Similarly, Gumede, a leader of the African National Congress, told a mass meeting of Africans when he returned from the USSR: "I have seen the new world to come, where it has already begun. I have been to the new Jerusalem." He claimed that he had brought the key which would unlock the door to freedom.

Paul Robeson the singer, since those days placed his voice and his talent at the service of the struggle for emancipation of the black oppressed, and at the service of all progressive mankind. He was an

artist who did not see art in isolation from the problems which beset society, the whole world, the whole of humanity. Becoming more and more aware of the problems of the Afro-American and African people, he was endowed with the wisdom to see the link between black oppression and the rest of the world's problems. It was therefore inevitable that he was drawn into the worldwide anti-fascist struggle of the thirties and subsequent years.

Caught in the whirlpool of the fight to destroy fascism, a fight that was both dramatic and horrible, it was at this time that he saw clearly that he as an artist, a singer, a man of talent, could not possibly stand aloof from the furore of humanity. He saw that the artist who was honest could never belong in an ivory tower while mankind was engaged in one of the titanic struggles of its history.

I think that his outlook as an artist is significantly illustrated by a speech made in the Albert Hall London at a rally in support of the Spanish republic, and reported in the South African anti-imperialist magazine, "The Liberator" in 1937. Paul Robeson said then:

"Every artist, every scientist, must decide now where he stands. He has no alternative. There is no standing above the conflict on Olympian heights. . . The battlefield is everywhere, there is no sheltered rear . . . Fascism fights to destroy the culture which Society has created; created through pain and suffering, through desperate toil, but with unconquerable will and lofty vision . . . What matters a man's profession or vocation? Fascism is no respecter of persons. It makes no distinction between combatants and non-combatants . . . The artist must take sides; he must elect to fight for freedom or for slavery. I have made my choice. I have no alternative. The history of the capitalist era is characterised by the degradation of my people; despoiled of their lands, their women ravished, their culture destroyed . . . I say the true artist cannot hold himself aloof. The legacy of culture from our predecessors is in danger. It is the foundation upon which we build a still more lofty edifice. It belongs not only to us, not only to the present generation – it belongs to posterity and must be defended to the death."

These words of Paul Robeson hold good today as they did then.

Council on African Affairs

It was in 1937 that he also helped to found the Council for African Affairs of which he became chairman. This American organisation had two main aims: to support the cause of African freedom, collecting funds for various African causes, and also to tell Americans the truth about affairs and events in Africa. Under the first of the Council's objectives, the people of South Africa remember the assistance provided during a severe famine in the eastern part of our country shortly after the Second World War. However, the other aims of the Council provided the opportunity for many Americans to learn the truth about our country. Until then I believe that most Americans thought in terms of Edgar Rice Burroughs' stories of Tarzan of the Apes, whenever they heard the continent of Africa mentioned.

The South African people also remember with appreciation and affection Paul Robeson's first task when he was released from the USA after the McCarthy persecutions. In 1958, just arrived in Europe from the United States, he sang in a special service in St Paul's Cathedral London in aid of the fund for the defence of South African political prisoners.

As a South African I believe I can say with truth that Paul Robeson had a special spot within himself for my country. We recall that in 1950 when workers were shot down by the fascist police at a May Day demonstration, Paul Robeson addressed a meeting of the National Labour Conference for Negro Rights, telling his audience:

"Twelve South African workers now lie dead, shot in a peaceful demonstration by Malan's fascist police; as silent testimony to the fact that . . . it is later than they (the oppressors) think in the procession of history, and that rich land must one day return to Africans on whose backs the proud skyscrapers of the Johannesburg rich were built . . ."

Today the South African people stand on the threshold of the final struggle for the liberation of the black majority and the other oppressed communities. In 1961 the armed struggle for the overthrow of fascism in South Africa was begun; for the overthrow of white supremacy, of injustice, of racial hatred and the exploitation of our hard-pressed people. In 1967 the first battalions of our partisan fighters met the racist troops of South Africa and Rhodesia. Our people have died there in the beautiful Zambesi valley, since they have said that they

no longer wish to lay down their lives defencelessly. I do not think that the South African movement today claims wholesale success or that victory will come soon. But we have reached the turning point in our history, and we have no doubt that victory will be ours.

Nixon's lie

Very recently Nixon, President of the USA, in his so-called "World Report", claimed that he and his government are against apartheid and racism in South Africa. This is a lie. In the first place the ruling class of the USA cannot be against racism in South Africa and at the same time condone and encourage it in the United States. Secondly, the United States of America is the second biggest foreign investor in South Africa and millions of dollars in profits are being sucked from the marrow and blood of African exploitation in South Africa.

We South Africans know full well who are our friends and allies in the United States. They are people like Paul Robeson who has raised his voice in song and worked in the interest of solidarity with the South African people. They are people like the late Martin Luther King, W.E. B. Du Bois, and today Angela Davis and all the Afro-Americans and genuine democrats fighting for the cause of justice, freedom and humanity in their country.



Paul Robeson — great fighter for peace and freedom

SOUTH AFRICAN STUDENTS' WHO'S WHO

**by Joe Kumalo, member of the Secretariat of the A.N.C.
Youth and Student Section.**

I have read with great interest the many articles written by Comrade Alexander Sibeko on the South African students, appearing occasionally in the "African Communist". These articles have greatly contributed as a source of information, and if, in the past, I did not find it essential to make comments, this has been primarily because I agreed with the views expressed.

In the latest article on the South African students' protest, I find it necessary to answer to some points and stresses that I can hardly agree with. If in this article I shall deal with points which were not completely dealt with in comrade Sibeko's article, it is not with the intention to falsely reflect on him, but merely to complete the picture.

Nusas: What is it? And whither?

NUSAS, although theoretically a multi-racial organisation purporting, at least until recently, to represent South African students, has in actual

fact always been a white students' organisation guided to some extent by the politics of the Liberal – Progressive Party but always leaning towards the conservative United Party. I said theoretically because although the organisation wanted to appear multi-racial, there was no meaningful participation by Non-Whites.

NUSAS, as an organisation of the privileged whites – the sons and daughters of the Oppenheimers, Suzmans, the chauvinistic white middle class and aristocracy of white workers – could not and cannot speak on behalf of the dispossessed rightless majority – the non-white students. The social position of the white students blinds them to the real interest of the South African students and people. The contention that the work of liberating the oppressed and exploited falls four-square on the oppressed and exploited still holds good in South Africa today. Please do not interpret this as a closing of doors to other progressive forces – far from it.

The problems and interests of the black and other non-white students are interwoven with those of the African and non-white section of our population and they fundamentally represent those of the South African society. The South African situation is such that it is virtually impossible to solve the problems of the black and other non-white students within the present status quo. They are therefore objectively interested in change – revolutionary change.

Sibeko dealt at length with what he understands to be a growing consciousness of the white students in English South African universities especially the Witwatersrand and Cape Town universities. Before coming to the demonstration against the continued illegal detention of the 22 including Winnie Mandela, I wish to draw attention to the fact that there have been several big demonstrations at these universities, ever since or even before, the campaign against the university apartheid Bill. These demonstrations have always been welcomed. But many African students both inside and outside these universities could not help but ask themselves how genuine have been many of these demonstrations or the participants in them. There are reasons for these doubts.

Discrimination

In the so-called mixed universities there was no equality socially, educationally (facilities), or politically. It is ironic that while the

students and professors were marching through the streets of Johannesburg or Cape Town in protests, on the university campuses themselves, social inequality was accepted without arousing meaningful objection. Swimming pools in these universities were reserved for whites and so were many recreational facilities. At Witwatersrand where there are many good tennis courts, the two worst ones were reserved for non-whites. At the university of the Witwatersrand convict labour was used for maintaining cleanliness without arousing a word of protest until a member of the A.N.C. Youth League who happened to be temporarily studying there, doing research, took the matter up strongly with NUSAS. Academically, in some facilities like Law, non-whites were not encouraged and in many cases penalised only because they were not white.

The recent demonstration against the 22 by NUSAS has given rise to some comrades' over-exaggerating the importance of the white campuses. *HAS NUSAS GONE RADICAL?* There is really no basis for supporting this view. Many of the fundamental reasons that are responsible for the radicalisation of the students' movement in the Western world — like increased percentage of lower-class militant groups in the student population, strengthening and unity of the left, and greater work of revolutionary parties in the universities, do not hold good for the South African white universities today. Of course the impact of world students and the revolutionary forces inside South Africa leave their marks, but there is the white laager and the black bogey to counter plus the effect of the Afrikaner student group.

I welcome the support shown by the white students in support of our comrades, the 22. Any pressure directed in favour of our people against the South African fascists is to be welcomed. Nevertheless for members of NUSAS to demonstrate does not need radicalism or revolutionarism. They are demonstrating within their concept of freedom of speech and justice as reflected by both the Liberal and Progressive Parties. They are not demanding majority rule, equality for all, overthrow of the fascist regime, release of all political prisoners, the end of BOSS, repeal of the Terrorist and Sabotage Acts or free, equal and compulsory education for all. They demand the release or trial of the 22 in fascist courts, by loyal and subservient law officers. They are satisfied with the fascist laws and courts — or maybe not, maybe they simply do not understand that those courts have become a farce and an

instrument of the oppressors.

Perhaps the students were influenced by the fact that they themselves were cautioned and discharged. I do not begrudge them this cautioning and discharge. I only want to stress the horrible disparity in treatment by the fascist courts when it comes to white and black students. Black students can never expect anything from these courts other than savage treatment or even legalised murder.

The demonstrators, unlike South African blacks, or radical students abroad — Japan, West Germany, U.S.A., etc. — do not expect to be mowed down or to be savagely sentenced. That is why they have the obligation to demonstrate, because they can perform a useful act with impunity.

Whites Move Right

Is there actually a growing spirit of radicalism and militancy either by NUSAS as an organisation or by students belonging to it? If yes, against what is such militancy directed and for what purposes? There is no basis for the contention that a spirit of radicalism is growing among white students in South Africa. The bitter truth is that the overwhelming majority of these students have come to accept the status quo as sacred. The great majority of them have undergone or are about to undergo military training to defend fascism against the so-called terrorists. In South Africa a very good percentage of even those who vote United Party or Progressive Party feel safe under the protection of the Nationalist Party. They vote for the opposition only for traditional reasons or for the maintenance of the two-party system and the English language. No amount of talk about the liberal effect of economic needs, the split in the Nationalist Party or the invisible move to the left and the so-called "outward looking" policy of the Nationalists will help. There is ample evidence in South Africa indicating greater acceptance of apartheid by the majority of the whites, including the students. This seemingly solid white monolithic wall will break, as it cracked in 1960. But this will come about primarily as a result of the growing pressure of revolutionary struggle.

This brings me to the question — *Are white students, because of recent demonstrations, more radical than their counterparts amongst, say, black students?* In your article you even speak of white students opening their doors. I think the contrary is the case.

African and other non-white students know from their experiences derived from many demonstrations and protest meetings, what it means to face the fascist terrorist machinery. Your example of Shawbury Mission School for girls applies to many. Mass arrest and expulsions are the order of the day, followed by permanent special branch harassment. If you go to Robben Island you will not only meet our Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu etc., but also many student leaders serving life sentences (student sentenced for organising boycott at Kilnerton), and other jail terms from 18 years downwards. To them demonstrations are now a luxury they can ill afford. They have learned from their own experiences that the only effective way of protesting is to join the underground A.N.C., S.A.C.P. etc., join study-political groups/cells, organise others from under the special branch nose, distribute underground leaflets, join M.K. and work for the armed overthrow of the fascist regime. To the majority of our students demonstration is very costly and brings unnecessary exposure.

African Student Militancy

I do not discourage demonstrations, I do not want to play down their role and significance. I am aware that the fascist illegalisation of all open forms of struggle by our people has created a sort of vacuum.

Nevertheless the fact remains that the African students are still the most militant contingent of the students' movement in our country. Fort Hare, Healdtown, Kilnerton etc. students, despite attempts at adulterating their revolutionary fervour by removals, expulsions, spying and imprisonment, still uphold the torch of student commitment. They take up issues not so much for humanitarian reasons but for political reasons.

Those who are over-exaggerating the significance and meaning of recent NUSAS demonstrations would do well to pay heed to the statement made by the President of NUS, Britain, Mr. Tony Klug, at the NUSAS conference in July 1970 in Durban where he denounced NUSAS for accepting the status quo. Reports from other impartial observers from Europe who attended the same conference, substantiate Mr. Klug's statements. If NUSAS accepts the need for change they must also accept the legitimacy of armed resistance. There have been many massive demonstrations, strikes and protest meetings amongst non-white students especially in places like Fort Hare, Kilnerton, Healdtown,

Ohlange, Adams College etc., which resulted in savage victimisation of students. There are many hundreds of those students who have been expelled and blacklisted and had to seek employment as unskilled labourers denied entrance to any school and refused even the right to seek education elsewhere.

We are prepared to cooperate with NUSAS on points of common interest. I welcome any move that helps to alleviate the suffering of our people, however small in terms of our overall needs. But we reserve our right to criticise reactionary moves, or statements by NUSAS like calling patriots "terrorists". The progressive elements amongst white students will find us warm and keen to work together for the benefit of our fatherland. We are irrevocably committed to the creation of a non-racial society in our country.

First African Student Association

I wish to correct your statement that SASO is the first African student organisation organised on a national scale "There has never before existed an all-black national student body such as SASO". Exactly 10 years ago, on the 16th December 1961, a militant African Student Association (ASA) politically committed to the national liberation movement was formed in Durban. The date of its inauguration is significant in that it coincided with the birth of Umkhonto Wesizwe.

ASA was formed because the African students realised that there can be no solution of the students' problems unless state power is transferred to the people, 70% of whom are black. They realised that the genuine interests of our students are inseparably interwoven with those of society as a whole, and that the main question to be decided in our country is that of who wields state power.

In the South African high and secondary schools, especially from the second half of the fifties, there was a growing spirit of resistance which could no longer be ignored by *any* serious student body. The Government reacted very savagely to this growing awareness among students by mass expulsions, closure of schools, spying on students, and scattered cases of arrests and imprisonment. This is why ASA opened its doors to all students above Std.VI, including technical and private corresponding students. If most of the demonstrations by NUSAS were sympathy gestures in support of the disfranchised, then the resistance by ASA and other non-white students was the real struggle

in defence of their rights. Their struggle was inspired by their own sufferings and the realisation that they themselves have the power to end it.

ASA came into being because there was the realisation by African students that NUSAS was incapable of honestly representing the African and other non-white students.

The Government, realising what ASA was, and what it meant to achieve, adopted towards it the same attitude it had adopted towards SACTU, the Indian Congress and Coloured Peoples' Congress. Without banning it formally as an organisation, it resorted to the tactic of outlawing, imprisoning and killing its leaders and members. That is why this organisation right from its inception led a semi-legal existence and was virtually underground. The backbone of this Student Association, was the university college of Fort Hare, that militant educational institution that not only produced brilliant leaders of the people but always heeded, to a man, the calls for sacrifice from the A.N.C. At that time Turfloop, which today we welcome into the stream of African realisation, was "a loyal, exemplary, government-created show university". During the 1960 State of Emergency, when the government refused to allow the university of Turfloop daily English newspapers, there was no word of protest from the then carefully selected students of this college. They have since learned, or are learning, where their true interests lie, and that is greatly welcomed. However, when assessing the roles, we should avoid putting the cart before the horse. The A.N.C., A.N.C. Youth League and ASA are responsible for the awakening that has led to the formation of SASO. And today it must be said that to wake up and assert one's manhood, whilst welcome, is not enough, as we are today preparing to engage the enemy in actual combat. It is useful to note that even the black power movement in the U.S.A. had to move to the stage of the Black Panthers and the movement is still growing politically speaking.

It is also worth noting that white students, apart from the Mafeje Cape Town episode, never organised serious demonstrations in support of their victimised fellow black and non-white students who are still in jail or, like the first President of ASA, have been killed by the fascists.

Why Was SASO Formed?

The birth of SASO was natural and logical. It is the result of the illegalisation of the A.N.C.Y.L. and the African Students' Association. The vacuum was causing strains and anxieties to the black students. To expect the majority of these students to march straight into underground A.N.C. cells without sufficient preparation in legal struggles is to expect too much. We must also remember that the banned A.N.C.Y.L. and ASA were assimilated into the A.N.C. because it was felt that these auxiliary organisations could not exist openly as before without jeopardising the underground compact machinery essential under fascist terror.

Lack of legal organisations is definitely a weakness on our part. SASO's popularity arises primarily because it came to fill a crying need like rain to drought stricken ground. This popularity is not founded on progressive programme, progressive ideals or deeds. SASO, in the words of its leaders, is at most sympathetic toward the A.N.C. and the national liberation movement in the country. Where does it stand on the most important question of the day – armed struggle?

SASO refrains from political activities, commitments or comments. Officially it is more interested in organising educational scholarships and cultural activities. They know the price of commitment and what it involves. They are obviously not yet ready to pay this price. What is the role or purpose of SASO apart from being a purely black organisation? At the moment its importance is merely that it exists.

For the students, youth and peoples of our country a process of polarisation is growing which demands commitment. The present position of SASO is still far from that expected of a genuine organisation consisting of the sons and daughters of the most oppressed section of our population. Moving out of NUSAS – this we did 10 years ago; it is not enough. In the conditions of our country, the African masses, workers, peasant and intellectuals have a special role and they must shoulder the brunt of the struggle. To be neutral in the struggle or seem neutral is unpardonable, and is almost tantamount to betrayal.

Our Attitude

We shall adopt an open policy in recognition of the fact that SASO or its progressive wing will inevitably join or support us. Our appeal is that

the A.N.C. is the only force capable of leading the South African Revolution, the better. Our doors are open to SASO, NUSAS and any other progressive and honest organisation.

* * * * *

Africans are Rallying Against Imperialism

I consider your journal on African affairs a most informative one, capably giving a thorough Marxist analysis of what is going on in that continent.

The national liberation struggle waged by the peoples of South Africa, Namibia, Zimbabwe and the Portuguese enslaved colonies, is closely followed by the anti-imperialist forces of Australia.

Taking into consideration the attempts of the British Imperialists to form an alliance with the criminal South African white-minority racialists against free and independent African countries, it is thus good to see that the Africans are rallying closer together, through the organization of African Unity, in supporting the struggle of all African Anti-imperialist patriots fighting not only for their liberation, but the consolidation of their independence.

A good example of this was the solidarity displayed by African nations with Guinea when it was brutally attacked by the Portuguese imperialists.

It is to be hoped that in the not too distant future all the imperialists and their interests will be dealt a severe and fatal blow by all genuine African patriots and that such criminal collaborators as "Rogue Elephant" Dr. Banda will be swept from the face of Africa.

*R.H. Nugent,
Australia.*

LENIN

anthologies

MARX, ENGELS MARXISM	63p
AGAINST DOGMATISM	47p
AGAINST IMPERIALIST WAR	63p
AGAINST LIQUIDATIONISM	47p
AGAINST REVISIONISM	63p
ON THE FOREIGN POLICY OF THE SOVIET STATE	63p
ON THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING-CLASS MOVEMENT	63p
ON LITERATURE AND ART	63p
ON THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA	£1.05
ON THE UNITY OF THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT	47p
ON YOUTH	53p
QUESTIONS OF THE SOCIALIST ORGANISATION OF THE ECONOMY	63p
REPORT ON PEACE	37p

full catalogue available on request

LAWRENCE & WISHART

46 Bedford Row, London WC1R 4LR

England

POST FREE

You may get **The African Communist** sent to you post free by becoming a subscriber.

Anywhere in Africa – 20 p (4 shillings) per year (four issues) (airmail – £1. 50).

Europe – 60 p (12 shillings) one year; £1 (two years).

America & Canada – \$ 2. 00 (one year) (airmail \$ 4. 00); \$ 3. 50 (two years) (airmail \$ 6. 00).

Students – Full time students – deduct one quarter on above rates (except airmail).

FREE SAMPLE OFFER

If you would like your friends to receive a free sample copy of **The African Communist**, fill in this form and return it to us.

NAME

ADDRESS

.....

NAME

ADDRESS

.....

Inkululeko Publications, 39 Goodge Street, London W 1